CONSIDERATIONS

ON THE NATURE OF THE

FRENCH REVOLUTION;

AND ON THE

CAUSES WHICH PROLONG ITS DURATION.

Nam et illis parum eſt, impunè malè feciſſe, niſi deinde faciundi licentia eripitur: et vobis æterna ſollicitudo remanebite, quum intelligetis aut ſerviendum eſſe aut per manus libertatem retinendam.——Nam fidei quidem, aut concordiæ quæ ſpes?—Quare moneo hortorque ne tantum ſcelus impunitum omittatis.

Salluſt. Bell. Jug. Diſc. de Memmius au Sénal.

TRANSLATED FROM THE FRENCH OF

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M.DCC.XCIII.

PREFACE.

VOLTAIRE, ſpeaking of his own time, has ſaid, that one ſees nothing but flimſey reaſoning, mixed with a little wit. To this plague the French Revolution has ſuperadded declamations without eloquence, and polemical diſſertations, which are copies of each other. When an Author, in a Pamphlet read by a few idlers, has ſtrung together the common places which are handed about from party to party, he thinks he has amended the ſyſtem of the world.

This warned the Author of the Piece you are about to read, to withdraw from the combat, and quit a field where he has waſted four years in ſowing on the ſands. Too many Readers are in the habit of conſidering writers, merely as players, who have no other taſk but that of amuſing their paſſions. To reaſon without effect; to give impreſſions without a determined end; to ſtate facts to-day, which are forgotten to-morrow;---behold all that you obtain by appearing on the ſtage.

PREFACE.

By the time we arrive at forty years of age, if we are not intirely deſtitute of judgment, we place as little confidence in the dominion of experience, as in the power of reaſon. The leſſons of both are equally thrown away upon the people, and their rulers; and, we may eſteem ourſelves ſufficiently happy, if we find an hundred men in a whole generation, who derive any inſtruction from the viciſſitudes of human affairs.

With long intervals, indeed, there do ariſe Stateſmen ſuperior to events, which they have ſkill to foreſee, and the ability to prepare and to conduct *; but for the moſt part, and generally, the world is governed by mere routine, or driven forward by neceſſity; and Europe, in her old age, contains unfortunately, more workmen than architects.

In Revolutions, you are hard preſſed between madneſs and folly; to avoid their ſhock, after having paid your debt to ſociety, you muſt live retired, and give up, eſpecially, all pretenſions to be heard.

In digeſting theſe Conſiderations, the Author had no higher object, than a ſecret and conſcientious review of his own ideas. Very reſpectable

* This age has produced three:—Frederick the Great; the M. of Pombal, and Franklyn.

reſpectable ſollicitations have determined him to publiſh them; which is, in other words, to abandon them to the winds. The certainty of their perfect inutility, was a powerful reaſon for his making no alteration in their character either by flattery or ſuppreſſion, the ſeaſon for both is paſt.

Every inhabitant of Europe is this day intereſted in this laſt conflict of civilization. Our perſons and our fortunes are embarked on a veſſel, every plank of which is ſtarting, and it is not in the inſtant of impending ſhipwreck, that caution is to be left to the Maſter, and "working the ſhip, to the Crew". We are all to a man, intitled to manifeſt our alarms; the Revolution being, if I may ſo call it, *a Citizen of the World*; it is no longer the excluſive concern of Frenchmen.

The ſlight and tranſient ſenſibility with which the generality of mankind has viewed this tiſſue of guilt and infamy, which would have killed our anceſtors with grief and indignation, is an additional motive, for confining our reflexions within our own boſoms. What can we ſay to men who ſleep on beds of roſes, ſurrounded by hundreds of thouſands of aſſaſſinations; and who, with the ruins of Perſepolis or of Carthage before their eyes, have never, even for a moment, conceived that empires were periſhable? One muſt write with a red-hot iron, to excite, at this day, any ſenſation.

Bayle's

Bayle's Problem is perfectly ſolved, by the preſent maſters of France. We ſhall in future, know what to expect from a Republic of Atheiſts; but their *timid* Revolution (this is the name they have for it) has, as yet, in other countries, but ſuperficially affected the public feelings. As to the French themſelves the day is not yet come to hold up the mirror to them; their paſſions fully the glaſs! It is when the ſad and ſalutary leſſon of wretchedneſs have made their deluſion vaniſh; it is then, that we ſhould ſpeak to ſubdued and broken hearts; to underſtandings diſabuſed by the extremity of misfortune.

The inſtability of events alſo impoſes ſilence on every man of judgment. Falſe reaſoners alone have a chance of being right; for the hiſtory of the time is no other than a tiſſue of improbabilities. Beſide, whoever has loſt ſight of France for ſix months, has loſt all knowledge of its moral and political map. The firſt French exiles always ſee the Revolution as at its early dawn; their remedies are ſuited to times which are paſt; and few there are who can form a compleat idea of the innumerable conſequences, which have ariſen in ſo many and ſuch varied epochs.

We are come to that period when the inteſtine fermentation has burſt open all the vents of the volcano; their croſs fires will be

be ſwallowed up and loſt in the principal gulf, if the exterior operations do not determine their direction, by enlarging their diameter. The war may conduct floating opinions into one common current; but this effect muſt be ſeized at the very moment, and, perhaps, it will ſoon be too late to look at our watch.

I have endeavoured to develope this truth: it will find many to contradict it, and more who are indifferent about it. As to irritated or irritable minds, which may be diſpleaſed by this Work, the Author will put them at their eaſe by pre-informiug them, that they may rank him in whatever claſs of Heretics they ſhall think fit; that they may call him Ariſtocrate or Democrat, a friend of Monarchy or the Monarch, Republican or Schiſmatic; theſe titles will in no ſort hurt him: and he conſoles himſelf before hand, by recollecting, that *in the Kingdom of Heaven there are many Manſions.*

ERRATA

Title Page, in the Motto, for "remanebite," read "remanebit."
Page 3, line 11, for "theſe" read "thoſe"
Page 5, line 10, dele the comma between "hundred, and words"
Page 23, line 15, for "liſten to any" read "not at all to grant it"
Page 38, line 23, for "laughing" read "lolling"
Page 43, line 23, for "delegate;" read "delegates;"
Page 48, line 6, for "conficications" read "confiſcations"
Page 55, line 6, for "dear" read "clear"
Page 61, line 16, for "Sovereign" read "Sovereigns"
Page 64, line 25, for "ponit" read "point"
Page 103, line 18, for "*riguts*" read "*rights*"
Page 112, line 11, for "as" read "has"
Page 114, laſt line, for "Patua" read "Poitou"

CONSIDERATIONS

ON THE NATURE OF THE

FRENCH REVOLUTION;

AND

On the Cauſes which prolong its Duration.

THE French Revolution was neceſſarily, and not accidentally the cauſe of the War, and is attaining perfection by the very efforts of its Enemies. I ſay *perfection*, becauſe, for fifteen months paſt, dangers have to that Revolution proved reſources, her ſucceſſes have eſtabliſhed her authority, and the ſlight checks ſhe has met, have been the inſtruments of her invaſions. Terror has added ſtrength to the immenſe force which ſhe poſſeſſed from opinion. She has levelled every thing under the axe of her aſſaſſins; Royalty, King, Conſtitution, Laws, every faculty of Government, the law of Nature, the

law of Nations, all feeling, all remorſe, all duty; nothing remains for her to accompliſh, but the pillage of the little landed property, of which ſhe ſtill, and for the moment condeſcends to allow the uſufruct to its poſſeſſors.

Theſe events are paſſing in the preſence of all Europe in arms; yet the genius which preſides in her councils, five hundred thouſand valiant ſoldiers, eighty ſhips of the line, aſſiſted by an inteſtine War, have not torn ten leagues of territory from that Confederation of crimes, which has intitled itſelf the *French Republic!* The duration of ſuch a conflict begins already to give her ſome dignity. Already the public, grown callous, forgets the crimes of the Jacobins, and thinks only of their reſiſtance. Three months more of uncertainty, and a race of men degenerated by ſelfiſhneſs will paſs from ſurprize to admiration.

If the Revolution was the cauſe of the War, if its progreſs was the effect, they are now ſtruggling together, body locked to body; one muſt throw the other; but then, we muſt obſerve a marked difference between them, which is, that the Revolution may overturn the War, but the War,

in

in it's true acceptation, can never of itſelf alone, overturn the Revolution.

It would then be a moſt fatal miſtake to conſider the exiſting conteſt, as an ordinary War between nation and nation; to rely ſolely upon the efficacy of the better army; to oppoſe old rules to unheard of conjunctures; to combat by meaſures of mere routine with men who have long departed from all known modes of proceeding, and to confine oneſelf, there to periſh, within a circle of meaſures, the inſufficiency of which has been made manifeſt, by an experience too dangerous to be prolonged.

Vain would be the hope to draw a line round the conflagration; it would immediately conſume theſe who might be ſo imprudent as to approach it. Whatever opinion may be adopted as to the future Government of France; of one thing we ſhould never loſe ſight, that however indifferent it may appear to foreigners, whether ſhe ſhould at laſt ſettle into a limited monarchy, or into an abſolute monarchy, provided that either one or the other ſhould reſtore her to quiet, yet Europe cannot long bear without being infected, a *Revolutionary* Government,

with a treaſury of all ſorts of crimes, and twenty four millions of men in its train. The doctrine of the Sovereignty of the People, the inveſtment of an indigent and frantic multitude with abſolute power, liberty made to conſiſt in reſpecting it in nobody; men of property ſubjected to ſtarving pettifoggers, who have aſſumed the power of defining what property is; the tricks of a few abandoned miſcreants repreſented as an emanation of the national will; inſurrection forming the very foundation of Government, and the law conſidered merely as an exception in the arrangement of public order; this whole circle of anarchy, defended by arms, by perverſity and deluſion, excludes even an organized democracy; but it requires little foreſight to perceive, from the ſurface they have already covered, that theſe dogmas and theſe examples will ſhortly and rapidly ſpread over all nations.

The actors in this cataſtrophe are at once generals of armies, political ſectaries, and leaders of gangs of murderers. Their reſources conſiſt in every thing demanded by this triple character; their opinions and their decrees are made inſtrumental to the triumphs of their ſoldiers, and their ſoldiers to the

the eſtabliſhment of their opinions and their decrees; always active, always enterprizing, never diverted from their undertaking, the genius of evil ſeems conſtantly to ſpur them on. Availing themſelves by turns of promiſes and of threats, of rewards and of puniſhments; making always a juſt eſtimate of the effects of timidity, delivering to death or baniſhment all who dare even to doubt, guiding all minds by half a hundred, of words they alone have ſhewn any conduct, an invariable plan, and a uniform ſyſtem.

Unfortunately, Europe as well as France, has felt more terror than indignation at the enormities by which this domination has been both formed and ſuſtained. The greater number of thoſe which have paſſed fifty or ſixty years of age, only view this Revolution through the medium of antiquated habits; they vibrate from an extravagant fear, to a falſe confidence; levity, ſelfiſhneſs, and effeminacy, make their tranſitory alarms ſubordinate to their hopes; day after day paſſes away like clouds; and whilſt, with their eyes fixed on the fortifications of a frontier town, they truſt, with a confident ſimplicity, their deſtiny to an imperceptible ſpot of the map, the gulph widens, and theſe obſervers

ſee

ſee the laſt fortreſs which yet defends the remains of civil ſociety, totter to its baſe.

Theſe alarms will appear no longer chimerical, when we examine their grounds; for this purpoſe, I ſhall bring ſome thoughts before you, the reſult of a chain of well-known facts, allied to the eſſential nature of the Revolution. I ſhall afterwards analyze the principal cauſes, both internal and external, which at once prolong its duration and aggravate its evils. This review of the ſituation, will lead us to the conſequence which it foretells, and to the meaſures which it requires.

SECTION

SECTION I.

The ſucceſſive Progreſs, and the Birth of the Republican Revolution.

THE political reformation of the French Government has been merely the prelude, and the vehicle for that ſocial Revolution which threatens to be the termination of the eighteenth century. True and ſound philoſophy had repeatedly warned and menaced Sovereigns with it: The Pariſan Philoſophy, unknown to the people at large, but cheriſhed by the great, and by women of faſhion, conceived, combined, and carried it into effectual execution. Stateſmen, and perſons of ability, had ſufficiently enlightened the judgment as to the cauſe of the decline of the reſources of the Mornarchy, and on the manner of tempering, or of putting limits to it. But theſe modifications were incompatible with the general perverſeneſs, and with the ferocious pride of a College of Metaphyſical declaimers, reſolved to ſacrifice the preſent generation to an experiment of their maxims.

They

They drew thoſe maxims from Rouſſeau's *Social Contract* *. The inſurrection in America, ſupported and juſtified by an abſolute Government, put them into a perfect ferment.

* No one has formed a ſounder judgment on this work than Monſ. *Mounier*, in his *Enquiry into the Cauſes which have prevented France from being a free Country*. *Rouſſeau* attributes the unlimited Sovereignty to the people, without defining at all what it is that conſtitutes the people; the legiſlative power to be the general will, without determining what that general will is; he inveſts this general will with the right of turning the body politic upſide down at every moment, without pointing out either forms or conditions, or limits to the expreſſion of this imaginary National will. *Rouſſeau* was ſo imprudent, as not even to remark, that madneſs, wickedneſs and injuſtice could not ſtamp the character of a law, on the tumultuary reſolutions of the multitude. *Cicero*, a better philoſopher, and ſounder politician, would have taught him this diſtinction. If we except *Condorcet*, who hated in *Rouſſeau* the reſpect he entertained for the Divinity, and his averſion to the Encyclopediſts, all the Revalutioniſts of France beginning with *Seyes* and ending with *Marat*, were the diſciples of *Rouſſeau*. The innocent blood which has been ſhed for theſe four years paſt ſpurts back upon, and attaints his memory; and I fear not to tell his enthuſiaſtic admirers, if any yet remain beyond the bloody limits of Paris, that he ought to be ſolemnly branded with public infamy, if the goodneſs of his intentions, and his inconſequential concluſions from his own principles, did not dictate to us ſome tenderneſs for his genius. The Engliſh, who are far advanced beyond the reſt of Europe in political knowledge, always deſpiſed the *Social Contract*.

ment. To read all the paradoxes which were at that time publiſhed in France was quite ſufficient to make us certain, if the kingdom ſhould ever be agitated by diſcuſſions on political rights, that opinion would inſtantly confoud liberty with a moſt perfectly unregulated democracy. To ſuch a height was this delirium carried, that we have ſeen *Mr Turgot*, a Miniſter of State, in his printed Letter to Dr. *Price*, laviſh deriſion and contempt on the foundations of the Engliſh Government, upon the limits by which popular power was bounded, and upon thoſe inſtitutions which repreſſed anarchy in a legiſlature.

The troubles in Holland gave vegetation to the various ſeeds profuſely ſown during the American War. In the very inſtant when theſe troubles were moſt highly applauded, and that it was under deliberation to arm in their favour, ſome violent operations in the interior of the kingdom ſet the minds of the people in a flame. Such was almoſt univerſally the ſpirit, that in ſome of the inſtructions from the aſſemblies of the balliages, where certain priviliges irreconcileable with even ſound ariſtocracy were held in ſanctimonious reſpect, the very principles neceſ-

ſary for the conſervation of monarchy in a great kingdom, were openly atttacked.

Three months had not elapſed before the National Aſſembly unfolded, to an obſerving eye, the plan of the Revolution as it was afterwards executed. That man, who with impunity, firſt ſtuck the head of his fellow creature on a pike, juſtified before hand the torrents of blood poured out between the 10th of *Auguſt*, and 10th of *September* 1792. Crimes and errors began their career at the ſame time. In a medley of men of raſh ambition, hot headed theory, and ſecret treaſon, a contempt for all morality ſoon diſcovered itſelf, compounded of inſtinct and calculation. Succeſs appeared aſſured and eaſy to men who reckoned as nothing humanity and juſtice. Slander and violence, murder and rapine were proclaimed as lawful weapons in that warfare, which was to obtain liberty.

This project took France by ſurprize in a moment when effeminacy, or minds without vigour, characters debauched by luxury, manners, which were no better than baſe faſhions, opened a wide field for the Revolution. For its conſummation nothing more was neceſſary

neceſſary than to unchain the ferocious againſt the looſer vices, and to bring the effiminate, to battle with the brutal energetic paſſions of the multitude. Authority, which by recent faults had been ſtripped of the reſpect of the virtuous, ſtanding alone, could not defend itſelf from the hatred of the profligate. The firſt ſhock once given and advantage taken of it by a hardy and ſyſtematic wickedneſs, licentiouneſs had no longer a curb, nor its empire any limits.

This was not the end propoſed by the greater part of the firſt Revolutioniſts. The chiefs amongſt them ſought to diſplace, and not to *overthrow* the public authorities. Men of ſome parts, little underſtanding, and leſs experience; harangues without diſcretion; legiſlators, who killed the principle of laws, by the deſtruction of public order, believed themſelves to be the heads of parties, becauſe enthuſiaſtic opinion ſet its ſeal on their diſtempered politics.

In their intoxication they did not reſerve to themſeves any means of managing their efforts, and of reſtraining the hands which they had armed. To let looſe the multitude, and to corrupt it, to erect that multitude

into a mighty power, and then flatter themſelves that they could make it ſubordinate to their own, ſuch was the circle of follies *within* which, in the midſt of all ſorts of outrages on perſons and property, the conſtitution was fabricated.

In the very inſtant when the vanity of its architects was celebrating its immortality, even before it had ſeen the light, it tumbled to pieces under its very props. An hot, but then ſecret faction, inſinuated its venom, and planted its leavers by the ſide of thoſe who were ſhaking the monarchy to its foundations. Its committees exiſting before the meeting of the ſtates general, were ſecretly working on the plan of Milton's Satan.

> " Our labour muſt be to pervert that end,
> " And out of good ſtill to find means of evil."

The Republic, the abſolute levelling of ranks and fortunes, the ſubverſion of ſocial order throughout Europe, were the ſcripture of their code. Diſſembling at firſt, and then audacious, the horrors of the preſs, and clandeſtine plots, fire and ſword formed the ſyſtematic combination of their means of execution.

Confined

Confined at firſt to act the part of mere inſtruments, they furniſhed the founders of anarchy with the crimes of 1789. The *Palais Royal* lent its conſpirators, its corruptors and its aſſaſſins. In this alliance, the Republicans, juſt then in their birth, arranged their diſarrangements, and the council of the Duke of Orleans carried them into execution. The Revolutionary *Monarchiſts*, hoping that they alone would profit by them, ſuffered them as the ladder to a free Conſtitution.

In the boſom of ſyſtems, and of the firſt furious tranſports, aroſe that *Club of the Jacobins* which was deſtined to trample upon the heads of kings, to beat down before it all intermediate parties, and to bury all men of property, under the ruin of all Governments.

This hideous ſociety ſoon gave the law to its creators. Compelled to fear and to careſs it, in vain did they attempt to bring it to a dependance on them by the artifices of the moſt abject popularity. It eſcaped from them, and in their deſpite became the regulator of the Revolution. Whoever quitted the Club, for the purpoſe of diſputing its authority, after ſhort lived and tranſient advantages,

tages, ended by returning within its orbit, or being cruſhed to pieces by it.

The *Jacobins* alone were a faction; the other parties were no better than cabals, or at moſt, vegetated in impotence, whilſt twelve hundred political aſſociations, correſponding to one common center, have from day to day ſtrained cloſer the knot of their union; whilſt this unexampled confederation has conſolidated itſelf by its caſual and temporary miſcarriages, as well as by its ſucceſſes, its adverſaries floated on the main, without a compaſs, without chiefs, without vigour, and without any common principle of harmonious agreement.

In no wiſe intimidated by this diſcordant troop, the Jacobins marched on impetuouſly to their object. The for ever to be deplored return and captivity of their majeſties in *June* 1791, gave them the opportunity of making that object manifeſt.

Read their journals, their ſpeeches, their petitions, their Republican Proclamations at that period; you will there find the firſt edition of thoſe decrees which their Committee vomited forth on the 10th and 11th *Auguſt* 1792,

1792, by the mouth of *Vergniand*, in the preſence of the King, whoſe faithful ſervants they had juſt murdered, and whoſe conſtitutional throne they gave to a populace of Robbers, until they ſhould be able to give them his head.

The Conſpiracy of *Briſſot*, of *Robſpierre*, of *Petion* and of *Condorcet*, in the ſummer of 1791, gave away to the *timid* bayonets of the General and Mayor of Paris. The Republic was adjourned to the next legiſlature. Weak men for a moment, believed the Jacobins to be annihilated. The Conſtitution reviſed, but not corrected, brought on a ſuſpenſion of arms for ſome weeks.

With the ſpirit of that preſumptuous mediocrity which characteriſed the Conſtitutionaliſts, they inſtantly purſued the King to Varennes, whoſe eſcape would have been their ſalvation, as well as that of liberty and of the kingdom *. In the ſame ſpirit, and when quitting the helm of the Revolution, they

* Three or four of the Conſtitutional leaders did not fall into this miſtake, and ſincerely regretted his Majeſty's arreſt. Equity demands it to be told, that without their efforts, and thoſe of Monſ. *Montmorin*, the Jacobins would then have accompliſhed the dethronement of the King, and the putting him on his trial.

they threw this unhappy Prince, deſpoiled and naked, into the midſt of Republican daggers, by ſtripping him of all thoſe protecting prerogatives which might have defended them and their new laws. To the unfortunate bungling of having begotten a Regicide league, without having even thought of any means to keep it within bounds, they joined another blunder, that of having created a body politic, without the means of Government.

At the opening of the ſecond Aſſembly the Conſtitution was attacked; it tumbled into pieces at every ſitting; the Minutes of their proceedings were its bills of mortality; and it had vaniſhed five months before it was formally deſtroyed. The Jacobins performed their parts in the comedy of oaths; they alſo cried aloud, *(and laughed)*, "*The Conſtitu-*" *tion or Death*;" but it was clear, from *December* 1791, that this unconnected pile could not defend its adherents, even againſt the power of a Club.

This well-known fact alone paſſes judgment on the Conſtitution. Six months have been ſufficient to ſhew by experience, that being nothing elſe than an ill conſtituted anarchy,

anarchy, this deformed baſtard muſt die in its cradle. It muſt neceſſarily have expected to have proceeded from cataſtrophe to cataſtrophe, under inſtitutions borrowed from ſome licentious Republics in the time of their decline, in which inſurrection was their prime maxim, and the populace their chief ſupport; in which the ſovereignty of the people, had no other controul than its own definitive will and violence; where they had ſubmitted the public force to the force of the mob; in which they had placed, without any intermediate authorities, ſeven hundred revocable inſtruments of ſixty thouſand popular aſſembles, by the ſide of a king, altogether ſuperfluous, degraded and deprived of every means to conciliate affection to excite terror, or enforce obedience; in which the deliberative democracy was ſpread out in the repreſentative aſſembly, in every city, in every ſection of a city, in the courts of juſtice, the army, in the villages, in the clubs, in the fraternal ſocieties, and in every quarter where forty banditti choſe to form a Conventicle; in which, in a word, a majority of ten voices in the indiviſible legiſlature, aſſured to the moſt unbridled faction all thoſe triumphs of which we have been witneſſes, from the decrees for arranging the armed

chains, to that for regulating the murder of the King, and the funeral pomp of *Marat*.

How could the monarch and the monarchy have been preſerved; Some honeſt and intelligent members of the legiſlature; their majeſtics, who were daily informed of the abominable plots which were hatching, and a ſmall number of men capable of obſervation, followed with affright the progreſſive aſcendancy of thoſe who were determined on Anarchy. On which ſide ſoever you turned your eye nothing was to be found, but inactive fears, notions without determination, ſhoals and quickſands laid as foundations, and wordy argument diſputing the field againſt indefatigable action.

Thoſe who wiſhed to preſerve the Conſtitution, oppoſed that phantom to a ſyſtem of perſevering action; laws to a faction above all law, metaphyſics to enterprize; moralities to violence; ſecret intrigues, to the moſt daring conſpiracies; and the conſtituted authorities, to a league which had trampled all authority under foot. The ſuppreſſion of the Jacobins was demanded in a ſtile borrowed from themſelves together with their maxims, and their invectives

againſt

againſt kings. Their doctrine was avowed, and its application rejected; a parade of popularity was affected in the very declamations againſt its meaſures. Thus, obſtinately implicated in a wordy war about principles and conſequences, the *Feuillans* expoſed themſelves on every quarter; beat by their own weapons, all their appeals to the letter of poſitive law were conſtantly overturned by the *Spirit of the Revolution.*

The re-embodying of men of property, ſo often propoſed, no longer afforded any hope. This inert and narrow minded maſs compoſed of ſtock-holders, of bankers, of liſtleſs annuitants; the merchants, the manufacturers, the ſmall land-holders, the jobbers in church eſtates, ſaw nothing in the Revolution but a ſpeculation of fortune and vanity. Delighted with the abolition of titles, they reaſoned juſt as the wiſeacre did, who falling from the top of a ſteeple, and finding himſelf quite at his eaſe in the air, ſaid to himſelf---*Good! provided it laſts.* Very few were maſters of ſenſe ſufficient to perceive what was of all things moſt manifeſt, which was, that after having hanged the gentlemen, they would immediately after cut the throats of the citizen; that the ariſtoc-

cracy of wealth would be attacked after that of titles and ranks, and that from the pillage of title deeds, they would proceed to the plunder of pocket books, and iron chefts.

As to the counter-revolutionary Royaliſts, they for a long time were counted for nothing. Their obſtinate errors ſtill aggravated thoſe of the *Feuillans*. From the very beginning, the major part of the diſcontented, had placed their hopes of ſalvation, in the extreme of evil. They had chalked out to themſelves a commodious plan of quiet and expectation; they took no part in what was acting beyond ſome puerile attempts which, far from being able to ſtop the general movement, only added to its impetuoſity. Quitting the opera, or in the chaiſe which carried them to the banks of the Rhine, men at once inattentive and filled with paſſion, adjourned from month to month the ceaſing of the ſtorm.

It was the height of abſurdity to imagine that a vaſt monarchy which had ſubſiſted for fourteen centuries, ſhattered to pieces in eight days, ſhould riſe again of itſelf by the progreſs of anarchy, by the inconſtancy of the multitude, or by ſome appearances from abroad.

Alas

Alas! the root of the evil was not ſo near the ſurface. They by whom it was planted, better underſtood the human heart, and the character of the age.

Mean time they doſed over old adages and pamphlets. "*Confuſion leads to order*, ſaid theſe profound reaſoners, *anarchy will reeſtabliſh deſpotiſm. Democracy dies of itſelf, the nation is affectionately attatched to its kings.*"

Theſe hackneyed ſayings, true enough, perhaps, when applied to the duration of half a century, but abſolutely falſe as promiſing a ſhort exiſtence to the anarchic fever of the French, governed the diſſidents and moſt of the cabinets of Europe. Never had any error more dreadful conſequences, or furniſhed a ſtronger proof of inexperience.

Diſorder is an *effect*, which becomes an all powerful *cauſe*, when it is conducted by a force not counterbalanced by any other. Neceſſity compels its abettors to keep it up, and outrage begets outrage. Are laws made? They ſerve to give certainty of ſucceſs to every infringement of the law; at length the mobs which they raiſe, deſtroy by their very nature all poſſible means of repreſſing them

them, and for the reſtoration of order. Beſides, of all forms of Government amongſt a great people, democracy is that which moſt ſtrongly electrifies and moſt rapidly ſpreads the paſſions. It calls out that love of domination which is the ſecond inſtinct in man; give him independance to day, to-morrow he will cheriſh it as the means of authority, and when once eſcaped from the power and reſtraint of the laws, his firſt care will be to uſurp authority.

When political fanaticiſm has arrived at this point, public order is cut off at its ſource; for the people, delivered from an authority which oppreſſed them, would by the force of habit have been led toward ſome new authority; but once ſeized themſelves with the love of power, and having the poſſeſſion and exerciſe, it is impoſſible that they ſhould endure any power whatſoever. To confirm their dominion, on this diſpoſition, their demagogues confound the rights of the multitude, with thoſe of liberty, perſuade the croud that they furniſh them with ideas, by inflaming their minds, and ſubſtitute their paſſions to their judgment, and their will to their knowledge.

How

How ſuperficial then were thoſe unwearied calculators who conſoled themſelves by a perverted ſenſe, and congratulated each other upon the encreaſe of diſorders, and placed all their hope in the wicked outrages which compleated the Revolution. What an enemy to royalty was that furious anonymous ſcribler, who inſcribed as a title on his pamphlet "*No Compromiſe*," and demonſtrated to a majority commanding two hundred thouſand ſoldiers, fifty fortified towns, and in poſſeſſion of all the reſources of the Empire, that having no compoſition to expect, their deareſt intereſt was not to liſten to any.

The Revolution is indebted to ſophiſtries of party ſpirit, for the horrible character which it has aſſumed within a year paſt; it owes that character to all the different cauſes I have annalized; it owes it to that ſyſtematic emigration which ſeparated the monarch from his defenders; a kingdom from the friends to kingly Government, property from its owners, a party from its members, and which, unknown to itſelf, obedient to the ſecret intentions of the Republicans, cut off every reſource, which patience would have made fruitful in the interior of the

kingdom

kingdom, without ſubſtituting any thing in their places.

The Revolution owes this character not alone to this meaſure of emigration, which the grave and ſerious nature of the anarchy ſhould have confined to women, to the aged, to the heirs of the throne, to men who had evidently committed themſelves, and who were menaced by the popular rage, but ſhe owes it alſo to its coincidence with the interference of foreigners.

She owes it to thoſe councils which made the emigrants excluſively ſubordinate to the uncertain deciſions of ſome irreſolute Cabinets; to that torrent of promiſes, and impotent menaces, publiſhed by ſome ſhort-ſighted writers, who thus ſquandered away the reſources to be drawn from fear; and at the ſame time, furniſhed the *Jacobins* with pretences for crimes, and inſtruments of dominion, when the allied army appeared on the Frontiers.

It ſprung from the diviſions which oſtentatiouſly reigned amongſt the Royaliſts. The Monarchy, the Monarch, every ſpecies of property, three hundred thouſand families,

even

even to their very hopes, were on the point of periſhing under the ſtroke of an atrocious faction; and the victims of that abominable faction were in hot diſpute upon two houſes, or three for the States, upon the ancient Monarchy; and on the Inſtitutes of Charlemagne. An hundred idle and endleſs controverſies daily nouriſhed animoſities. Senſeleſs men! they fought with one another, and they ſtill fight one another with the very chains by which they are galled. Never could they be prevailed on to uſe the ſmalleſt policy. The neceſſity of hating each other ſeemed to torment them; they purſued each other even into the arms of their aſſaſſins; neither dungeons nor death could appeaſe their animoſities. Each diviſion of the party attached to monarchial Government, reprobated all thoſe who did not meet them on the geometrical line of opinion. Inſtead of adjourning their debates, inſtead of ſtrengthning and compacting themſelves, on thoſe points in which they agreed, they eagerly ſought, on the very brink of the precipice, to fight out the queſtions on which they were divided.

Laſtly, the foreign War, ſo much wiſhed for, has compleated the Revolution, which

it was intended to annihilate. Six months ſooner, a defenſive line of ſixty thouſand men would have ſufficed to keep it within ſome bounds of moderation, and to facilitate its amendment. This opportunity loſt, the armies of the two greateſt military powers in Germany, ſerved merely as witneſſes of the Jacobin triumphs.

The foreſight of the Jacobin leaders had prepared this event. Aſſured that it would be in vain to merely haraſs the Governments of the world by inſults and emiſſaries of ſedition and revolt, they challenged them to the field. Their committee, under *Briſſot*'s management, foreſaw three objects of ſucceſs to be obtained by a War,---the abolition of the crown; the deſtruction of the Conſtitutionaliſts, to follow that of the Ariſtocrates, and all Europe in combuſtion. Two of theſe objects were obtained, and a great progreſs was made towards the third.

Certainly ſuch ſharp-ſighted conſpirators ſtood in need only of one auxiliary, and they found it in the contempt which was laviſhed on them from abroad. They were ſuppoſed to be filled with conſternation at the vaſt military preparations, and thoſe exaggerated

gerated in gazettes whilſt they conſidered nothing in the foreign war, but as it afforded them the means of a more terrible War in the metropolis.

Anſwering the Duke of Brunſwick's Manifeſto by fifteen thouſand aſſaſſinations; overturning the throne which that Prince came to defend; loading with chains that Auguſt Family, whoſe tears, its intended deliverers had hoped, late as it was, to dry up; they ſeized upon all the forces of the State---generals, authorities, adminiſtrations, miniſtry, revenue, laws, hangmen, newspapers, inſtruments of directingo pinion---all became their prey in an inſtant: they turned againſt their enemies that terror, with which it was thought they themſelves had been ſmitten, and their own confidence confirmed that of their proſelytes.

If the Revolution of the 10th of *Auguſt* changed the face of the kingdom, it made at leaſt as great a change in the campaign, begun in the moment when the very baſis on which it was formed, had tumbled into ruin. Two powers only made any efforts at this criſis, in which it was to be decided whether Crwons ſhould not be exchanged

for *red caps*. The deſtiny of the human race depended upon a few weeks of rain or fair weather, and on the health of a few regiments. Such was the ſtate to which Europe was reduced by three years of miſtaken meaſures, by preſumptuous declamations, and by confident ſecurity. Soon after ſhe was hurried to the brink of ruin by the unexpected, though perhaps unavoidable retreat of the allied army. In ſix weeks the dominion of the Revolution was rapidly extended from the Alps to the Rhine, and from the territory of Genoa to the mouth of the *Scheldt*. All the hither circles of the German Empire, the United Provinces, Switzerland, Italy, all floated to the abyſs. If General *Dumourier*, whoſe plans ſeemed to be formed in the cabinet of Tamerlane, and whom prating boaſters now divert themſelves by reſembling to a buffoon captain; if this conqueror, whoſe compoſition was of fire and nitre, had governed the miniſtry, Holland would have been in his hands in the month of *December*, and all Europe would have bowed the head before the hangmen of the 2nd of *September*.

Two hundred intriguing and peculating extortioners, known at Paris by the name

name of the Committee of War; a man weak and factious who was at their head, the pillaging excurſions of *Cuſtine*,---in a word, the counter-action which a prompt and vigorous genius muſt ever experience in a Government of committees, were the ſtar of civil ſociety, by which it was ſaved at that time from ſhipwreck *,

But by this metamorphoſis the Revolution aſſumed another character. The ſupremacy of the *Sans Culottes* confirmed itſelf on piles of carcaſes, and the *Revolutionary power* became, for a murderous populace, the law of nations in regard to the people of every country. This character the French anarchy retains to this day, and it is important to conſider it in this light.

* See the printed correſpondence of *Dumourier* and the miniſter *Pache*. In that is to be learned the Hiſtory of Europe at the cloſe of 1792, and during the laſt winter.

SECTION

SECTION II.

The true nature of the Revolution ſince 1792, *and its definitive object.*

" WHEN barbarians, pouring in from " the North, overthrew the Roman " Empire in the Weſt; and when other bar- " barians vomited out by Aſia, had planted " the ſtandard of Mahomet on the walls of " Conſtantinople; that was the moment " when the globe was to belong to the " moſt ſavage. In the picture of that me- " morable ſubverſion, we diſcover the por- " trait of that with which Europe is now " threatened. The Huns and the Herules, " the Goths and the Vandals will come " neither from the North, nor from the " Black Sea; they are in the very midſt " of us."

The uſurpation of France by a banditti without bread, and by their leaders without property, has been a comment on the words I have cited, which I publiſhed now twenty months ago, and which were then regarded as a miſanthropical dream.

The

The queſtion does not now turn upon a Conſtitution, or upon liberty, or upon laws, or the old or the new Government, or on a monarchy, or a Republic. The Revolution has drawn us from all thoſe kind of commotions which filled the ordinary hiſtory of nations.

Franklin often told his diſciples in Paris, that whoever ſhould introduce the principles of primitive Chriſtianity, into the political ſtate, would change the whole order of ſociety. An abſolute equality of condition; a community of goods; a Republic of the poor and of brethren; aſſociations without a Government; enthuſiaſm for dogmas, and ſubmiſſion to chiefs to be elected from their equals,---this is the ſtate to which the Preſbyterian of Philadelphia reduced the Chriſtian Religion. But to confound its divine precepts with the manners which were neceſſary to its firſt followers; but, to materialiſe, as it were, inſtitutions altogether ſpiritual, and to transform ſublime virtues into inſtruments of deſtruction and ſlaughter; this was an inference reſerved for the ſchool of the *Abbè Seyes*. The full attainment of ſuch a *ſocial renovation*, ought indeed to belong to philoſophic aſſaſſins.

Men

Men of penetrating judgment have for a long time conſidered with no ſmall terror, thoſe legions of wretches, of journeymen, poor artiſans in the ſervice of luxury, for the multitude of whom Europe ſtands indebted to policy derived from the counting-houſe, and to miniſters drawn from philoſophic academies.

The inequality of fortunes, every day growing greater, and the waſteful prodigality of an exceſſive luxury, was contraſted, every day more and more, with the abject condition of a laborious poverty. By eſtimates prepared by the Board of Trade and Plantations in England, upon the reſults of ſeveral years, it appears even in that Iſland, whoſe wealth and commercial intoxication have for the laſt thirty years turned the heads of all the cabinets of Europe, that the condition of that immenſe claſs of people, living themſelves and ſupporting their families by labour, grows worſe every day by the diſproportion of wages to the price of proviſions.

Almoſt all the great ſtates of Europe, and France more than any other, are infected by this malady.

Reflect

Reflect then on the language and the morals of the Cordelier Club, becoming the catechiſm of this immenſe claſs of labouring poor; let us ſuppoſe a ſhock ſo violent as to deliver them at once from labour and dependence; behold them called to equality and power by *conſtitutional* corruptors, and by them armed in an alliance with the miſcreants of every country; and ſuppoſe that men of ruined fortunes and blaſted reputations, women loſt to ſhame, and all who have ambition without abilities; that the raſh and the ſophiſters augment and agitate this inflammable compoſt; that this multitude is fattened with blood; that to them ſhould be held out promiſes of power and riches; that they ſhould be emboldened by three years of ſucceſs, and that the fanaticiſm of wickedneſs ſhould be embelliſhed by an hypocritical eloquence; when this happens, then dig the grave of civil Society, for her laſt hour is at hand.

This picture is no longer hypothetical; the original is diſplayed over the whole ſurface of France.

When you add to this that the chiefs in this enterprize, delivering the people from

all fear of divine and human juſtice, from all ſcruple, and from every domeſtic duty, and inſtilling into them paſſions foreign to all their former feelings, as ſo many ſecurities for their wickedneſs, have alſo been able to corrupt corruption itſelf; what will you then think of the idle declaimers, who propoſe to put an end to ſuch a ſubverſion as this, by decrees of the Great Chamber, or by detatchments of the Gendarmerie.

This ſecond Revolution, grafted on the firſt, has compleated the conqueſt of the whole territory of France. The dominion and the poſſeſſion, the ſoil and the Government, the armies and the treaſures, the fate of all men, and the diſtribution of all property belong, for now a year paſt to thoſe who were excluded even by the firſt Revotion from all ſhare in the public buſineſs. Enriched by the plunder and maſters of all public property, they have made themſelves alſo the abſolute diſpoſers of the eſtates of individuals, whoſe owners perfectly excluded from all ſhare of authority, tremble in their houſes at the ſight of ſanguinary levellers, who conſider them merely as their farmers.

If Spartacus had been crowned with ſucceſs, he would probably have ſtopped much ſhort

ſhort of his French imitators. Amongſt theſe, Charlemagne and Mahomet would ſcarcely have obtained the rank of captains. Their ſyſtem of invaſion leaves far behind it that of the Tartars, of the Arabians, and of the Perſians into India, of the Barbarians who diſmembered the Roman Empire, who without any violence againſt private right ſhewed always more or leſs, ſome reſpect for religion, for cuſtoms, and for the public rights.

The Anabaptiſts of Munſter, the levellers of *Cromwell*, the wars of the peaſants in many ſtates; religious Sects happily condemned at their very birth to depreſſion and obſcurity, have preceded the *Abbè Seyes* and his demoniacs. But what a difference in the character of the times, and in the means. How can you compare the narrow circle in which moved a few and inſtantly repreſſed fanatics, with an empire of thirty-four thouſand ſquare leagues, ſubdued almoſt without reſiſtance, by a ſweeping alliance of poverty and crimes.

But we have as yet conſidered the Revolution in one point of view only. It has an invincible tendency to aſſume, it has already

aſſumed a ſecond character, and for this it will be indebted to the War. The enthuſiaſtic inhabitants and thoſe without property being generally armed, ſerve to maintain the conqueſt it has made. France is one vaſt barrack, all the Revolutioniſts are ſoldiers, or deſtined to be ſoldiers; by free will or by force, the very diſcontented and oppreſſed themſelves, for the ſake of ſome chance of ſafety, will be obliged to devote their arms to the defence of their tyrants. A Convention to give orders, and camps---this is the whole of the Government in the French Republic. The repreſentatives of the people, are nothing elſe but the repreſentatives of the army; their grand function is to rob with one hand, and with the other to ſhare the plunder with the ſoldiers. Thus it was that *Cartouche* conducted himſelf;---but *Attila* and *Mahomet*; the Beys of the Mammelucs, and the Scheicks of the Arabian wanderers, founded alſo their authority on ſimilar conduct.

Whilſt the crowd of wiſe men, with whom the Revolution is nothing more than a ſeditious tumult, wait patiently with the countryman in Horace------*untill the river ſhall have flowed out*; and whilſt declaimers

ami

amuſe us by turning ſentences on the fall of induſtry and of the arts, few are thoſe who perceive that the Revolution, by its deſtructive nature, brings inevitably in its train, a military Republic. Its founders could not have taken a ſurer road to it, than by the ruin of all the arts of luxury, manufactures, foreign commerce, and every ſedentary employment. Thus then, from this immenſe body of unemployed workmen, they largely recruit, they ſupply the legions already formed of thieves and loungers, of half-ſtarved wretches and vagabonds, whom they arm alternately with the dagger and the muſket. By ſuppreſſing the workſhops, the dock-yards, navigation, commerce and manufacture, they eſtabliſh for themſelves a nurſery of tools for their atrocities at home, and for their regiments abroad. The foreign war then has developed that diſcipline which, by the excluſion of all others, has reduced twenty millions of men to two profeſſions only, War and Agriculture. Thus is verified that maxim of their tribunes, ſo often treated with contempt, that the wealth and the power of nations ſhould hereafter conſiſt entirely in iron.

The time is at hand, when nothing ſhall be ſeen in France but the plough-ſhare and the

the bayonet. Every militant *Sans Culotte*, will be intitled to the diſtribution of land and of plunder; the fact is ſo at this moment; and preſently it will be legalized by a Conſtitution in form.

One conſequence will immediately flow from this eſtabliſhment. Theſe ferocious ſavages will continue armed in the midſt of peace; from the conqueſt and pillage of their own country, they will proceed to their neighbours, and waſte them by their incurſions. Their policy and inſtinct will unceaſingly urge them to conqueſt by their arms, and by their principles. It was thus that an handful of banditti collected by *Romulus*, ſubjected the people of Latium, and divided the conquered lands amongſt themſelves, and made their Eagle reſpected from the foreſts of Numidia to the banks of the Euphrates.

This picture will probably raiſe a ſmile of pity amongſt thoſe innumerable idlers who over a diſh of coffee, or laughing on a ſopha, ſtudy the Revolution in a newſpaper, and reaſon on the cauſes, whilſt its effects inveſt us in our very laſt deluſions. I ſhall go no further than juſt to beg thoſe on whom

Nature

Nature has beſtowed ſuch beneficent compoſure, to conſider a little the courſe they have run. I beg of them to tell me, if from the preſent actual ſtate of France, to that which I have delineated, there exiſts a difference at all comparable to that between the firſt and the laſt epoch of the Revolution. I entreat them to bring together under the eye, the funeral pomp of *Turenne*, and that of St. *Fargêau*; the deſolated Palace of the Thuilliries, with the auguſt reſidence of their Kings; the deſcendant of the *Fourth Henry*, defended by fourteen centuries of monarchy; and by virtues, rarely ſeated by Providence on a throne, with *Louis XVI.* dragged into a dungeon by the moſt infamous of the human race, murdered by the benefits which he had conferred, leaving in mourning and in chains that dear and ſacred family, to whom nothing now is left but the Divine protection, whilſt the ſtrumpets of his executioners, blaze out in their jewels in the boxes of the opera.

SECTION

SECTION III.

Diviſion of the Republicans; how they have been inſtrumental to the Effects we have related.

IT would be a great miſtake to believe that the revolutionary plan, ſuch as it has been analyzed, was premeditated, and followed up in its totality by the rabble of factious prattlers, of theſe dictators of the kennels, and of theſe momentary chiefs, who have ſucceſſively given direction to a tumultuous populace. As the ſpirit of the *Conſtitutionaliſts*, ſtopped at a *democracy with a King*, ſo the views of the Briſſotins were bounded *by a regulated democracy of the populace.* They ſaw too many riſks, and too much uncertainty of preſerving their own power, in the mere ſimple theory of the *Sans Culottes*; which, by reducing the art of managing civil ſociety, to a ſportful play of *pikes* and *guillotines*, made quite ſuperfluous, the prating of *Briſſot*, the anodyne admonitions of the Miniſter *Roland*, the logical knaveries of *Guadet*, and that exterior of virtue with which theſe prudiſh conſpirators thought it expedient to adorn themſelves.

It

It will not be expected that I ſhould defile my pen by anatomizing thoſe different ſects of *decorous* butchers, or bare-faced butchers, which were hatched in the carcaſe of the Monarchy. But, as there exiſts in Europe, and even amongſt men in authority, (becauſe they are ſtrangers to that moſt noble of all paſſions, an abhorrence of wicked men) a ſecret and deplorable leaning to palliate crimes, by the example of crimes ſtill more enormous; to ſeek for a ſupport, in the leaſt odious party, and to eſtabliſh a kind of umpirage between kindred degrees of iniquity, we muſt reduce theſe ſecret hopes to their real value; and mark thoſe ſhades of difference which diſtinguiſh the two factions of the *Girondiſts* and the *Maratiſts*.

The firſt planned the Republic, and carried it into execution by the aſſiſtance of the ſecond. It was but juſtice that the Government, the committees, the directing influence, the command of the provinces, the crown which they had ſeized on, that all theſe ſhould be delivered into their hands; but they diſputed with their accomplices the municipal power which then diſpoſed of lives and fortunes in the capital. The War broke out, and it has continued ever ſince.

The majority of the Convention were governed by the *Girondiſts*, juſt as the majority of the preceding legiſlature was Anti-republican. The one and the other had the ſame fate, and from the ſame cauſes. At the time of the murder of the King, the aſcendancy of the Maratiſts was fortified by the acceſſion of a kind of third party who nick-named themſelves the *independant*, and which was governed by an attorney's-clerk become a major-general, whoſe name was *La Croix*, and by one *Barrere*, a Poetaſter from Languedoc, whoſe mind was ſublimed to blood, by the manners of the time, which he dignified with the name of *Energy*.

The *Briſſotins* voted for the appeal to the people on the judgment againſt the King. Not the ſlighteſt ſentiment of juſtice or compaſſion ſuggeſted this modification; but policy dictated to them, to ſpare the Convention the odium of the King's murder, and to prevent the conſequences, which did not eſcape their foreſight. Inſtinctively and clearly they perceived, that there would be hardly an interval between the King's execution, andt heir own puniſhment.

As to their doctrines, they were promulgated in that farrago of articles and ſections which

which *Condorcet* read one day to the Aſſembly, and which he embelliſhed by a preface, every ſentence of which is an abſurdity or a riddle. We perceive, that this faction purpoſed to frame a Republic of Quakers without virtue, by ſupplying the feeble limit of a repreſentative diſcipline to an unlimited democracy; to diminiſh the influence of Paris, becauſe they could no longer give it a direction; to add more force to the operation of the laws, which they flattered themſelves they ſhould adminiſter; to reſtrain the power of the Clubs, which refuſed them obedience, and to moderate that rage for blood and ſlaughter, with which, after having excited it, they were now threatened in their own perſons.

The *Maratiſts* conceived the Revolution ſuch as we have already ſketched it. Leaving to their timid rivals the miſerable nonſenſe of order, and of the ſovereignty of the people; of reſpect for the laws, and for the omnipotence of their delegate; of property maintained, and power of protecting it taken away from the propiretor;---they enforced rigorouſly *the Rights of Men.* Permanent licentiouſneſs, attended with conſtant impunity, under the name of Liberty; Equality

conſecrated by Agrarian laws, extended to goods and pocket books; the guillotine and the dagger for thoſe who reſiſt;---this is their code; and they enact a chapter of it every day.

It would be a great miſtake to ſuppoſe that the *Briſſotins* were more ſcrupulous *. More dexterous, leſs ferocious; not ſo headlong as their adverſaries, they excell them in Machiavelian policy. They have the art to adapt their buſineſs in all its circumſtances to the crime to be perpetrated, and leave to their rivals the bad policy of committing more crimes than are called for by the circumſtances of their affairs; the *Briſſotin* meaſure for wickedneſs is aſcertained with the utmoſt preciſion.

If the *Briſſotins* are better politicians, the *Maratiſts* have a more daring ſpirit. Theſe boldly plunge into blood without diſguiſe, whilſt the *Briſſotins* ſhed it drop by drop, with their hands covered, a maſk on their face,

* There do, no doubt, exiſt ſome Republicans of a better deſcription, who are intimidated by civic butcheries, or diſabuſed by them; but you cannot bring into active ſervice, a deſcription of men, condemned by their nature, to be the ſport of all parties.

face, and morality in their mouths. Their moderation is the effect of fear, and not of conſcience; and if they have not dared the extremes of wickedneſs, it is becauſe they ſaw that in puſhing theſe extremes againſt the others, they ſet an example, and juſtified the moſt violent and deſperate of factions in the uſe of the ſame extremities againſt themſelves *.

The

* The Briſſotines play a *double game*; by one, they provoke to all manner of crimes, when crimes are for their advantage; by the other, they reprobate theſe very crimes when their own party is endangered by them. When *Jourdan* opened the-ice houſes of Avignon, to fill them with the murdered bodies of his victims, *Briſſot* immediately publiſhed in his Journal, "That the murderers had not much to reproach themſelves with; that crimes inſeparable from a Revolution have a tendency to the public welfare; and beſides, that it was *almoſt* the intire nation, or at leaſt a *very great part of it*, that inflicted puniſhment by violence, upon ſome individuals, who by a *criminal reſiſtance*, oppoſed the *general will*, ſuddenly, and *tumultuouſly* expreſſed." In conſequence of this, *Laſource*, *Guadet*, *Graugeneuve*, accomplices and aſſociates of the *virtuous Briſſot*, obtained an act of indemnity for the murders at Avignon. Again, it was this ſame *Briſſot*, the *reſpectable friend* of Lord Lauderdale, who, when his rival Journaliſts were plundered and guillotined, cried out, that *we muſt accommodate ourſelves to the circumſtances of the time, and let the law ſleep for a while*; but when, this laſt ſpring, the *Commune* of Paris proſcribed the Journal publiſhed by this *Briſſot*, then inſtantly

The differences between theſe two parties were ſuch as to inſure victory to that which was moſt ſavage. Rendered unpopular, by the very efforts they made to appear popular,

Virtue, *Morality*, *Order*, *Equality*, *Liberty*, all were ſhaken to the foundation. Further, this was the very *Briſſot*, who made it his ſolemn boaſt, that he brought on the War, for the purpoſe, on the firſt miſcarriage, of accuſing the King of colluſion with the enemy, and hurling him from the throne.

Every one is acquainted with the maxims of the *virtuous Petion*, whoſe life-guard, diſpatched from Paris, murdered the Duke of Rochefoucault, juſt in the ſame manner as the *auſtere virtue* of *Briſſot* had delivered the throats of Mr. *Montmorin*, and Mr. *Leſſart* to the knives of the murderers of the 2nd and 3d of *September*.

The third of this triumvirate of the 10th of *Auguſt*, the *virtuous Roland*, ſpeaking of the maſſacres in *September*, thus expreſſed himſelf to the Pariſians; "I "well foreſaw what the *long* and *abuſed patience* of the "people, as well as their *Juſtice* muſt naturally pro- "duce. I was not diſpoſed *inconſiderately* to *blame* "the firſt violence of a terrible commotion; but "thought that its continuance was to be avoided. Juſt "as a great tempeſt purifies the air, and ſweeps away "all filth, ſo does popular rage and commotion, effect "that in a few hours, which in the regular courſe of "affairs, would come perhaps *too late*."

Theſe then are the men who at this day ſollicit compaſſion, becauſe their crimes fall back upon their own heads, and who pretended to weep over, after they had immolated their victims, becauſe *Danton* and *Roberſpierre*, iſſued out, againſt them alſo, *Warrants of Arreſt*.

Every

pular, the Briſſotins, in this battle of vultures, left every day a feather on the field of battle. Having loſt piece by piece their paltry outworks, they ſaw the citadel of their *inviolability* carried by ſtorm, by the very ſame arms with which they had attacked the inviolability of the King.

This diverſity in the Revolution, was the reſult, as were the preceding, not of a great and ſudden *coup de main*. but of a thouſand detailed preparations. The *Jacobins* gnawed the barricado, which they were afraid of attacking by main force. During the ſeveral debates, and in the midſt of the Jeremiah-like lamentations of *Roland* the dethroned; ſolemn

Every one knows that the Aſſembly *unanimouſly* paſſed to the order of the day, when they were called upon to attend to the maſſacre in the priſons. Not one of the conſtituted authorities took a ſtep in the buſineſs: but *Roland*, the miniſter for the home department, wrote to *Santerre* on the 4th of *September*, that is, two days after the compleat perpetration of crimes never heard of in the annals of human wickedneſs, "*To employ the whole* "*force which the law had put into his hands, for the protection* "*of perſons and property.*"

The length of this note will be juſtified by the neceſſity of undeceiving thoſe, who were ſo indulgent as to ſuppoſe that the authors of the proceedings on the 10th of *Auguſt*, had an iota more of integrity, than their rivals of the 2nd of *September*.

ſolemn maſſacres, ſuch as thoſe of the 2nd of *September*, were legitimatized; the invaſion of property was decreed at the Club of the *Jacobins*, by the *Commune* of Paris, and by the *Mountain*; the forced loans, and the confications were carried into execution; the Revolutionary Tribunal took firm root in its own maſſacres; Paris, and the whole kingdom. was one vaſt *Slaughter-houſe* *; indiſcreet language became a capital crime, and conduct, in itſelf quite indifferent, rebellion; every citizen, who was not a Jacobin, was devoted to pillage, to a dungeon, or to death. Special Commiſſioners were ſent into all the departments for the purpoſe of extermination †. Journeymen hangmen

* In the original the word is *Geomenie*, alluding to thoſe ſtairs leading down to the *Tiber*, called *Scalæ Gemoniæ*, on which tyrannical princes, and proſcribing factions, expoſed to public ignominy, the bodies of thoſe whom they had murdered. Theſe bodies were, after a time, thrown into the river. The word is unuſual and harſh in the French, and cannot be at all rendered into Engliſh. Another, ſufficiently expreſſive of the Author's ſenſe is ſubſtituted.

† The department and the judges of *Ain*, having repreſented to them that they could not, without ſome evidence, put to death a crowd of Citizens of all conditions impriſoned at *Bourg*; theſe Commiſſioners, gnaſhing their teeth, anſwered—"*Eh! if we had required* "*evidence, ſhould weh ave condemned* CAPET?"

hangmen filled the adminiſtration, and had no other part to play but that of *Mutes* in the Aſſembly. In a word, that Aſſembly aſſumed the character of roaring tygers broke looſe. Never did the *Bicetre* exhibit more of abomination and horrors; the moſt profligate miſcreants in a night-cellar might have paſſed for the Roman Senate in compariſon with that den at the Thuilliries, where the refuſe of the gallows dictated decrees to the dregs of human nature, and where buffoon cannibals challenged each other to glaſſes of blood *.

Now then the theory of revolutionary profeſſors is in full practice, and has but two more obſtacles to ſurmount, the revolts within the kingdom, and the War from without; theſe will confirm the Republic of *Sans Cullottes*, if they ſhould not be able to give it its death blow before winter.

* "*Bring a glaſs of blood to* Couthon," ſaid lately, one of the members on the right ſide of the hall, "*Bring a tub of patriotic blood, for a bath, for theſe gentlemen,*" replied the left ſide.

SECTION IV.

Views of the Republicans in the preſent War; how it regards the Revolution; Cauſes of Reſiſtance.

THE Revolution and the War are inſeparable; they have the ſame origin; all the means of Revolutions are means of war; and it is beyond human power to diſſolve this alliance, if the principle is ſuffered to eſcape.

In provoking and ſpreading ſo generally this terrible conflict, the Republicans had ſix objects, all in correſpondence, one with the other.

To confirm the French Revolution, and to make it a Revolution in all civilized ſocieties.

Not to leave a throne ſtanding, nor any government whatſoever, which reſted on any other foundation, than that of an unlimited military, aud deliberative democracy.

To level all diſtinctions, and to rob all men of landed eſtates, the gentry, after the clergy,

clergy, the yeomanry after the gentry, the monied men after the yeomanry, the merchants as well as the monied men, and the ſtock-holder after the merchant.

To cruſh the land-owners by exceſſive and arbitrary contributions, until the moment arrived for violently expelling them from their patrimonies.

To accompliſh this, by giving to the *Sans Cullottes* excluſively, the ſovereignty, the power, the armies, the offices, and the treaſuries of the kingdom.

Laſtly, to incorporate with them all conquered countries, by realiſing in thoſe countries, the French meaſures; to feed the War by plunder, and to ſupport plunder by the War.

The famous decrees of the 15th and 30th of *December* laſt, decrees which containing the recapitulation, the ſyſtem, and the reſult of the Revolution, bear directly on theſe ſix elementary objects. From them *Cambon* compoſed his preliminary diſcourſe, in which all diſguiſe was thrown aſide. Tranſported with admiration, the Aſſembly eagerly and without

delay diſpatched traders in liberty, under the name of Commiſſioners to go, and *fraternally* to ſell the *Rights of Man* at the foot of the Alps, on the banks of the Rhine, the Meuſe and the Scheldt, to ſtock-job in confiſcations; and after making the people pay the full price of the independence which they brought to them, then ſword in hand, to adjudge their countries to France, by *voluntary* re-unions.

Although, the change of fortune in the ſpring has a little diſordered the oeconomy of this philoſophical generoſity, yet would it be a great miſtake to ſuppoſe the plan to be abandoned. Foreign armies do indeed *cramp* its operation for the preſent, but its ſpirit is in full force. Never has the *propoſition* of evacuating what is yet in their hands of the conquered country, been well received in the Convention, and there can be no doubt, that on their very firſt ſucceſs or after a treacherous peace of four and twenty hours, the *Cambons* will again make their appearance, with the *Gengis-kans* of the fraternal ſocieties.

If the two factions ſhould come to a reconciliation, the devaſtation of foreign countries would

would be the pledge of their re-union. In a letter which I ſaw by accident, *Briſſot* wrote as follows, toward the end of laſt year, to one of his military miniſters; " We muſt " *ſet fire to the four corners of Europe*, in " that alone is our ſafety. *Dumourier* can- " not ſuit us; I always diſtruſted him. " *Miranda* is the General for us; he under- " ſtands the revolutionary power, he has " courage, lights, &c".

To pillage and plunder either at home or abroad is now the law, the very condition of exiſtence for the new world ſprung up from the dregs and filth of Paris. Four thouſand five hundred million in aſſignats infeſt the circulation, and they will amount to five thouſand million before the end of the year. Does any one imagine, that the Revolutioniſts trouble their heads about their liquidation? No ſuch thing; and no ſuch liquidation could take place without great prejudice to one of their moſt eſſential projects that of dividing amongſt the conquerors the conquered mortgage-lands, and to prolong the attachment of the people, by exempting them from all taxes. Theſe two operations require that a portion of the fortunes of the *Emigrès*, and of others yet to

be

be confiſcated ſhould be divided between the ſoldiers, and the inferior agents of the Republic. This has been already energetically demanded in the ſections, in the clubs, and in the commune of Paris; and the Convention by a late decree has already ſettled the firſt lots. The remainder of the lands thus uſurped, will ſerve for the eſtate of the nation, and its produce will form the revenue of the Republic; and it will ſtand in the place of taxes, which are no more to be propoſed, to an armed and ſovereign people.

In the mean time, they will live on new Aſſignats. The national and revolutionary expences will be defrayed by the *Printer* of this paper money; by calls on the pocket books, by extortionary tribunals, and upon a thouſand or two of millions borrowed by the perſuaſion of the *permanent guillotine*.

But how is the public to be relieved from this enormous maſs of circulating paper? One of the ſureſt and moſt expeditious methods is, to puſh it out of the kingdom, to enlarge the wound in order to its cure, and to pump out of foreign countries their gold and ſilver, by a compulſory exchange for ſcraps of brown paper, ſcrawled over with the

Cap

Cap of Liberty. Many governments have to reproach themſelves for having aſſiſted this Coſmopolitan ſpeculation, by the toleration which they gave, and which ſome ſtill preſiſt in giving to a traffic in aſſignats. It is dear and manifeſt that unleſs the courſe of exchange ſhould be reduced almoſt to nothing, aſſignats will ſerve as a ſpunge, and ſuck up imperceptibly all the ſpecie of Europe.

As Mammon, in Paradiſe Loſt, has his eyes always fixed on the golden pavement of Heaven, the Convention have always their fangs ready to ſeize on the public revenues, and private fortunes in all foreign nations.

Let us reflect on the nature of a War, founded on ſuch motives. Let every one then fairly put the queſtion to himſelf, whether in common prudence, it ought to be carried on by halves; if to talk of peace or compoſition is not blaſphemy againſt civil ſociety, and if to enter into treaty with this hydra, before his heads are cut off, is not to deliver up to the monſter every man of property throughout Europe *.

But

* This is by no means an hyperbole. The indolent who read not at all, or who read to miſunderſtand, and then forget what they read, conſider every one who ſhews them their danger, as given to exaggeration. The

But I hear it repeated every day,---" Theſe " wild and extravagant expedients, will be " their own deſtruction; they overturn the " public oeconomy, ruin the ſtate, and dry " up all the ſources of public wealth".

Ah! what is the public welfare, (I anſwer) to an Aſſembly, not one member of which is at all reſponſible for it; which ſees their country only in *the hall in which they ſit*; which is a faction and not a government! They have but one object of purſuit, and that is to ſupport the Revolution; why ſhould we object to them thoſe calamities,

ruling doctrine of the Jacobins who govern the Convention is, that all the land is in common, and national property. This principle is repeated every day, by every public declaimer in the capital. When it was propoſed to exempt veſſels belonging to Amſterdam from ſeizure, as the property of Patriots, *Boyer Fonfrède*, one of the moſt powerful chiefs, objected, on this ground—That the Citizens of Amſterdam, *being in eaſy circumſtances*, they could not be conſidered as *Sans Cullottes*; that the *Sans Cullottes* did not fit out any ſhips, and that the *Sans Cullottes* alone were worthy of favour.

Clavierre, the moſt wicked and moſt artful of theſe deſtroyers, who was Miniſter laſt October, *did at that time propoſe* to Gen. Monteſqueiou, to employ the army of the Var to extort from the Genoeſe a forced loan of thirty millions in ſpecie at four per cent. and to perform a ſimilar operation, by the army of the Alps, on the States of Berne and Geneva.

mities, in which they find their reſources, or the ravages, which furniſh them materials to make props for anarchy?

A year, however, has nearly elapſed in the midſt of battles, and as yet there is not the leaſt diminution in the reſiſtance. The houſe is indeed ſomewhat ſhattered by the violence of the ſhocks, but the columns, though tottering, ſtill remain on their pedeſtals. Not one fortified town has voluntarily opened its gates; not a regiment has abandoned its colours; not an army gives up the field of battle, without *diſputing* it moſt obſtinately; the ſhouts of royalty have not yet paſſed the lower Loire; fanaticiſm nouriſhes itſelf on calamities; ſoldiers die, others take their place; there is no appearance of terror, of wearineſs, or of the leaſt return to the better way of thinking.

Such are the diſcourſes which, paſſing from the talk of private company find their way to camps, and from camps into the cabinets of princes. Their influence produces effects too ſtrongly marked, not to make it worth our while to examine the cauſes of ſuch unconquerable reſiſtance.

Theſe cauſes may all be detailed in a ſingle line. This phænomenon ariſes chiefly *from that inattention, which did not foreſee*, that the reſources of a Revolution, neceſſarily exceed thoſe of mere common War.

One inſtantly perceives, that beſides thoſe means which all the powers have in common, ſuch as, cannon, ſoldiers, and money, or ſomething which anſwers as money, the Convention at Paris has ranged under its orders, and with a ſkill equal to its fruitfulneſs, all the deluſion of opinion, the energy ſpringing from enthuſiaſm, the faſcinating powers of the pen and of the tongue; the paſſions which have the ſtrongeſt action in the human breaſt, the cupidity of command, and the diſlike of obedience; intereſt and vanity; the love of flattery and of reſpect, the habit of independence, and the certainty of impunity.

It is by alternately availing themſelves of theſe prime movers, that uſurpers, without fortune, without extraordinary talents, and exciting horror and diſguſt by their crimes, have been able to ſummon to their defence ſuch bodies of blind profligates, and furious fools. *It is thus that*, though abandoned by its

its firſt proſelytes, ſurrounded by ruin and misfortune, and attacked by the principal powers of Europe, the Revolution ſtands erect, in its bath of blood.

No deſpotic prince could have had authority ſufficient to ſupport the baniſhment of ſpecie, and the manufacture of Aſſignats. But the Convention has at this day eſtabliſhed the currency of its paper upon neceſſity. The depreciation of this paper muſt ſoon lead to a cataſtrophe, by the immoderate price, to which all articles of conſumption muſt be raiſed; but we may ſee that already, the Revolutioniſts think of turning ſuch an end to their benefit, by giving up the landed property to general pillage.

However it may be hereafter, it is evident for the preſent, that he who maintains the War with ſpecie, is much weaker in that reſpect, than he is, who carries it on with a paper money, the quantity of which has no limit but his own pleaſure.

Nor is the advantage leſs both for attack and defence, which ariſes from the univerſal inliſtment of the inhabitants, whoſe fanataciſm and whoſe wants have tied their fate

to that of the Revolution, over regular armies brought two or three hundred leagues from their homes, with the immenſe apparatus and train by which they are attended with whom any conſiderable misfortune would be nearly romedileſs, and whoſe leaders cannot truſt any thing to chance, nor act upon contingencies, not foreſeen in their inſtructions.

When the Convention made that decree, worthy of Xerxes, by which was ordered an immediate and extraordinary levy of three hundred thouſand men, we laughed contemptuouſly, and were juſtified in that contempt by reaſon. However, this ſubſidiary army was to a great degree actually embodied, in the midſt of ineffectual murmurs and impotent diſcontents.

In addition to ten armies on the Frontiers, we ſee a new one ſprung up in the revolted Provinces, one of of Royaliſts in the Weſt, and one under the orders of the Convention in the interior.

Theſe natural forces, and this building of paper, which ſtands on a volcano, would nevertheleſs, have ſunk under the weight of difficulties, were it not for the perſeverance of the leaders, in ſeconding the moral

moral cauſes of their dominion. The moſt terrible War which they wage againſt their enemies conſiſts in this; that they oppoſe moſt extravagant ſentiments, to meaſures which tend to make them ſtill more wildly extravagant.

The events, for two years paſt, have enabled thom to deliver the people from all dread of Foreigners. It was much eaſier to let this powerful ſpring run down, than it is now to wind it up again.

When the nation ſaw foreign Governments treated with the moſt unbounded and contemptuous inſolence in the Aſſembly, in the Clubs, and in millions of writings, with the moſt perfect impunity; when it ſaw that a legiſlative aſſembly was endured, where ſovereign by name, for two years together, received the moſt cruel and outrageous affronts; when troops of regicides openly embodied and diſciplined, did not draw a ſingle ſoldier from his barracks in any country of Europe; when it was clearly ſeen that French newſpapers were become the ſole arbiters of peace and war, and that they had caught all the powers now waging war quite unprovided, to begin with the Emperor and England, and ending with the Prince of Deux-Ponts; when they

ſaw

ſaw the firſt campaign cloſe with the moſt unexpected and rapid conqueſts and that after the loſs of theſe conqueſts, three months were waſted before the Frontier was even attempted to be attacked; when all this was ſeen, the people loſt not dread only, but even the ſlighteſt reſpect for the foreign armies.

The Convention and the Clubs carefully nouriſhed theſe diſpoſitions. It is a fact beyond contradiction, that for ten months paſt, not a Royaliſt has conceived the ſmalleſt hope, nor a Republican the ſlighteſt alarm from the War.

A camp or two carried; two or three towns taken, have done little to leſſen this ſecurity. Former experience has made theſe loſſes to be conſidered as of little conſequence; this, and the time which has hitherto conſtantly been ſpent between every ſucceſs of the enemy, and any preſſing and vigorous operation by them, have been ſo many cauſes of allaying their terrors, and lulling reflection to ſleep, and thus confirming that confidence by which they are inſpired. They know little of the people, of a people in the poſſeſſion of the ſovereignty, and above all, of the people of Paris, who think they can be

be intimidated by armies waging war, at an hundred leagues diſtance! Out their own circumference, eſpecially in the heart of the kingdom, the exiſtence of ſuch a war is hardly credited. Neither the Convention, nor the Clubs, nor the Coffee-houſes, nor even the Populace have thought them worth their notice, for theſe three months paſt. Intereſt in the War does not paſs beyond the bounds of the office of the Miniſter immediately charged with it; and if the factions at all turn their eyes to the Frontier, it is merely to diſmiſs from their commands, and to hang thoſe Generals, into whoſe places, this or that cabal wiſh to thruſt their own creatures.

The Coalition of the foreign powers has become general, merely by the hoſtilities of the Republic affecting one after the other; the acceſſions to this Coalition being gradual and ſucceſſive, have but ſlighty affected thoſe, who would have been diſmayed and thunderſtruck, by the rapid and unanimous riſing of all Europe. The number of their enemies has become habitual to their thoughts. After having ſeen thoſe enemies one after another floating and undivided, and for a long time uſing the managements of neutrality with the Revolution, a perſuaſion prevailed, that the league

league of the coaleſced powers was not formed on a common intereſt, or a uniform principle; and that this forced union would have no ſolidity.

This opinion had ſhot its roots very deep. The popular opinion, that there was a project for the diſmemberment of France; the indifference ſhown for the fate of the houſe of BOURBON, and the almoſt immediate mixture of negotiation with the operations of War, has greatly ſtrengthened that opinion. Perſuaded that this league of all the European powers, had intereſts and views quite diſtinct from the re-eſtabliſhment of the monarchy, thoſe by whom that monarchy was ſubverted, have placed their tactic in the appearance of a fixed confidence, which would preſently lead them to a peace.

A joint declaration of the Allied Powers, which, whilſt it would have proved the unity of their intentions, would have made their object with its extent manifeſt, might perhaps have weakened thoſe deluſions; undeceived thoſe of all parties who dealt in exaggerations, afforded a ponit round which might rally all yet undetermined to reſiſt, and ſhew to the ſupporters of the preſent confuſions, in a clear light, their inevitable ſituation.

But

But theſe are not, by many, all the cauſes which to this moment have rendered the War ineffectual againſt the Revolution.

Let a juſt eſtimate be made of the energetic force which its defenders derive from the ties of a common country by which they are bound together; from that great council which has united in itſelf all the powers of the ſtate, and contains in it, the hotteſt heads, and the moſt wicked hearts; which debates and decides in the preſence of the mob; which dogmatizes and decrees, and is at once the inſtructor and legiſlator of the nation.

Let us attend to the prodigious effect of the clubs; thoſe ſenates, who have a common center, with the national ſenate, who ſpread every where its fury, its character, and its deciſions, and ſerve it as arms to embrace and gather to it the public opinion.

The ravages of the preſs, which keep mens minds in convulſive agitations, and which raiſe a burning rampart between truth and the people.

Popular doctrines, delivered by ambulatory orators, who enflame or allay enthu-

ſiaſm, who obtain ſacrifices even from thoſe who appear to have nothing to offer up; who read lectures upon the declamations, the monitories, the proclamations of the aſſembly, and keep up that conſtitutional fever, the fits of which produce at will, now a maſſacre, now an army.

The ferment raiſed in the imagination, by ſolemn feaſts, whoſe atrocious buffoonries can be exceeded by nothing but the effect they produce, and thoſe cannibal ſongs to whoſe tunes, *Dumourier* led on to battle and to victory thoſe battalions almoſt torn to pieces by the batteries of Gemmappe.

Think what may be effected by Atheiſts vomited out by the ſcum of ſociety, and Lords of ſuch an empire as France, peopling, at their pleaſure, the ſtreets with aſſaſſins, our fire ſides with informers; with one hand opening the priſons, and with the other, the coffers of the ſtate; no longer putting any bounds to rewards or to puniſhments; ſquandering men and money as the duſt; oppoſing to the calm combination of their enemies, a ceaſeleſs ardor, an attention indefatigable to profit by the ſlighteſt circumſtances, and a tenacity of prepoſſeſſion which

which does not allow one hour of relaxation, or cool reflexion.

Obſerve well the effect of that artificial courage, which never betrays a moment of fear nor indeciſion, nor even of doubt of the public ſafety; which declares War againſt Spain, the very day after they had declared War againſt Great Britain; which determines the irreſolute, intimidates the diſcontented, draws to it the enthuſiaſts, whilſt there is no port aſſured either within or without, for any penitent Revolutioniſt, who may refuſe to aſſiſt in the working of the ſhip.

It is no longer a ſeaſon for diſſimulation! Why ſhould we be ſurprized at the reſiſtance which is found, when we place in our view, by the ſide of ſuch an uſe of times and things, of ſentiment and of conjunctures, an unimpaſſioned War; a War ſlow and progreſſive, in the midſt of events always unforeſeen and unthought of; a War which will not employ the moral reſources; a circumſtantial War of detail, which will be conducted by wiſdom and valour, with ſcientific ability, but without the leaſt referenee to the perpetual viciſſitudes in the internal ſtate of the kingdom?

SECTION V.

Other Cauſes of Reſiſtance, flowing from the Spirit of the Revolution.

AFTER having pointed out the principles reſulting from the nature itſelf of the War, which weaken its efficacy; after having ſhewn the probability, that it will neither inſpire the factious with terror, nor the Royaliſts with confidence; nor hold out any hope of ſecurity to that immenſe multitude of undeceived middle men who look for a deliverer; it remains for us to develope the cauſes drawn from the nature of the Revolution, which concur in producing the ſame effects.

But this picture, would be the hiſtory of four years, and cannot be finiſhed in a few leaves; I muſt therefore confine myſelf merely to make a ſketch of ſome of its features.

The minds of men are attached to the exiſting ſubverſion by two kinds of bands. Some are attached by local or perſonal intereſts,

intereſts, or by the intereſts of ſome claſs of individuals. The others, with more enlarged views, by the public ſpirit which has produced the Revolution. If, inſtead of conciliating ſome of theſe intereſts or feelings; if, inſtead of ſetting them to fight each other, the attack is made upon them both conjoined, can one be ſurprized at the obſtinacy of their unanimous oppoſition?

To give an inſtance;---the revolutionary armies conſiſt of three deſcriptions of men: of the National Guards who are ſtationary, and who have an intereſt in the return of peace and good order; the Volunteers, whoſe licentious diſſoluteneſs, requires anarchy, war and rapine; and of the Troops of the Line, who are tied to their condition by duty and by neceſſity.

As to the Volunteers, they will remain devoted to anarchy, to the very laſt extremity, as to the protector of their debaucheries. To them, all kind of regulation is horrible. It was at them that *Cuſtine*, ſuch as *Cuſtine* is, found himſelf compelled to point a ſpecial criminal law, againſt *Rapes*. We ſhould deceive ourſelves in at all hoping to bring them under any mode of ſubordination,

ſubordination, either by any ſenſe of glory, or of gratitude. The experiment made by *Dumourier*, leaves this no longer matter of opinion, but of certainty.

Aſſuredly, neither the domeſtic national guards, nor the troops of the line, have the ſame motives to ſpill their blood for the miſcreants whom they ſerve. Equity obliges me to ſay, that during the incurſions of the laſt autumn and winter, far from permitting, the ſoldiers of the line have often repreſſed and puniſhed outrage and robbery. A great number of officers, even of the new creation, deteſt the Republic. But how ſhall theſe regiments get looſe from it? They muſt continue in its ſervice, under pain of death; for if they abandon it, all avenues of eſcape are barred againſt them. They are placed between infamy and indigence. At home they are offered honours, diſtinctions and rewards; abroad, utter ruin and wretchedneſs. I might add to this, that there yet remains a leaven of honour in the French ſoldiery, amidſt the licentious opinions by which their military principles have been perverted, which urges them on to the attack of an enemy who is a foreigner, and as long as they are kept in ignorance

of

of the determinate object of the hoſtility. The influence of this ſentiment will not be diſputed, when it is recollected that in the War in *La Vendeè*, the troops of the line have frequently joined the Royaliſts, or have refuſed to fight.

Travel through the whole kingdom, and ſtudy the character of the oppoſition which is given to the *Counter-Revolution*; a word which implying the abſolute re-eſtabliſhment of whatever has been changed or aboliſhed, ought to have been proſcribed at leaſt by prudence, and which, having become the watch word of fanataciſm, has given more nerve to the Revolution, than the three-coloured cockade.

You will find the holders of *Aſſignats*, deceived by the happily inſignificant menaces of uninformed Royaliſts, falſely perſuaded that the bankruptcy of paper money would be ſealed, the very day that the ſovereignty in the hands of the monarch, ſhould reſume the guardianſhip of property; and therefore preferring that diſaſter which leads to their ruin in the courſe of a year or two, to that calamity which would accompliſh it in an inſtant.

You

You will find thoſe who have got hold of the goods of the church, dreading reſtitution without indemnity, unite themſelves to the fears, and the efforts of the Aſſignat-holders.

Here, whole provinces, to whom the return of the antient government, perpetually called for, to the great misfortune of thoſe who demand it without modifications, preſents the frightful ſpectre of the *Gabelle* in all its horrors. There, this image connects itſelf with the re-eſtabliſhment of the *Aides*, an object no leſs of execration than the *Gabelle*. For *Franch-comptè*, the Counter-revolution is but another name for the reſurrection of the tenures by *main-morte*.

Obſerve afterwards, what impreſſions have been generally made on the great majority of the people, by the inſtitutions of the firſt Aſſembly. Make ſome calculation of the impulſe which the national character has received from the vaſt lottery of fortune for the people to game in; promotions without juſt pretenſions, ſucceſs without talents, deifications after death without any kind merit, aud innumerable offices diſtributed by the people collectively, and recieved

ceived by the people individually. Bring to account that univerſal change which reverſing all ſituations, one after the other, has cauſed all authority to fall into the hands of men of no deſcribeable condition; which has placed the command of armies in the filth of the ſuburbs, Miniſtry in the intriguers of Grub-Street, and the repreſentation of the people in the hands of aſſaſſins.

Think how much the ſudden elevation of ſo many ſucceſsful adventurers of the loweſt orders, of functionaries, of electors, of veſtry men, of public murderers, of the agents of anarchy, letting the whole kingdom to pillage, and uſing the Revolution as a gaming-table, muſt have univerſally ſpread the ſpirit of emulation and avarice. By every head cut off, two fortunes are made, that of the aſſaſſin, and that of his employer.

Set its juſt value too on that fanataciſm of vanity ſet in a flame by ſucceſsful ambition; the perſonal importance felt by each individual, and the perpetual ſhiftings of power and command.

Aſk the porter in the ſtreet, who was formerly ſqueezed between the coach wheel

and the wall, if he is ſorry that the coach and he who rode in it, are both vaniſhed. Aſk that crowd of debtors who have cauſed their creditors to be aſſaſſinated; aſk the troops of abandoned women, whoſe *Civiſm* to day ſtands inſtead of virtue; put the queſtion to all thoſe of ruined fortunes, who re-eſtabliſh themſelves by rapine; to the multitude who from humilation have paſſed to inſolence;---aſk from all theſe, if a *Saint Bartholomew*, every month, would diſguſt them with anarchy.

Make an eſtimate of the effects of that independence which manifeſts itſelf even in occaſional revolts againſt the Revolution; and thoſe of that preſumption, as infinite and incomprehenſible as is eternity, which ſets the ſeal of perfection on every abſurdity; which is blind to all danger; which never even ſuſpects itſelf fallible, and which would think itſelf diſhonoured if it ceaſed to be irrational *.

Laſtly,

* Preſumption has been, and is ſtill one of the hinges on which the Revolution turns. I muſt allow myſelf to give two or three inſtances :—

The collection of papers found in the Iron Cloſet in the Thuilliries, and which have been printed; a collection publiſhed by impudence or folly, to demonſtrate the King's ſcrupulous fidelity to the Conſtitution, con-

Laſtly, do not deceive yourſelves as to the degree of hatred which even the deſerters from the Revolution bear to every thing that can bring back the antient monarchy, its inſtruments and its accomplices. Do not forget, that though the multitude both in towns and in the country, have

tains a Letter written to the King by a man, formerly in the Navy, of the name of *Rouyer*, who was conſtituted a Legiſlator in 1791, and was a Conſtituting Legiſlator in 1792; and always a moſt brutal Jacobin. This gentleman deſires the King to take him for his Miniſter, on the 17th of *March* 1792, and ſays in his Letter—"I have "taken a careful view, and have gone to the bottom of "affairs; and have foreſeen every thing that may or "can happen. For the execution of my noble plans, "I aſk nothing more than the direction of the powers "and authority with which the laws has entruſted you. "I know the dangers which I am to face. Weakneſs "numbers them up, but genius vanquiſhes them. I "have conſidered all the Courts of Europe, and I am "ſure I ſhall force them all to ſue for peace."

I know not what he was, but a man, called *Naillac*, ſent by the Convention to Genoa, in his Speech to the Doge, on the 26th of *December* laſt, ſaid—"The Re-"public of France will be an example of public perfec-"tion;—*Humanity* is neareſt and *deareſt to her heart*, and "ſhe does *not refuſe* to aſſociate the neighbouring coun-"tries to her happineſs."——In this ſtile it was that *Genſonnè* ſaid in the Aſſembly, on the 14th of *March*,—"*In a little time, they, who diſdained ſubmiſſion to the "ſovereignty of the French nation, will fall on their knees "before the ſovereignty of the world.*"

their vexations, yet they have alſo their enjoyments. Forget not that the unſkilfulneſs with which the reſtoration of the primitive order of government has been offered to them, without change or ſoftening, hardens the heart againſt Royalty, fixes wavering opinions, ſnatches from the good the means of opening the eyes of the people, and raiſes legions for the ſervice of the baſe and profligate.

No ſooner had ſome raſh and hot-headed people from abroad, ſufficiently ſenſible to atrocious injuries, but ill informed as to the intereſts of their party, pronounced the terrible ſentence of "*all or nothing*," but they taught their enemies the ſame war-hoops; they taught it even to thoſe who had ceaſed to be their enemies, and who had nothing held up to them but implacable revenge, or unavailing repentance.

I have before me, one of thoſe publications, in which complaints ſupply the place of argument, and invective is ſubſtituted for redreſs *. If the charms of genius and fine writing could reſtore the monarchy, this pamphlet would have fulfilled the intentions of

* Letters upon the Republic of 1793, &c. &c.

of its author. But a defective judgment has hurried him, unknown to himſelf, into the views of the Republicans. Every one would have liſtened attentively to a writer who had ſatisfied himſelf with effacing the fantaſtic pictures which had been made of the old government, and with demonſtrating that the old government, though too variable and arbitrary, became daily leſs abſolute; that the reign of *Louis XVI.* was a reign of great moderation and lenity; that in no country have miniſters leſs ventured on acts of high authority, than in general did the miniſters of this Prince, who was filled with deſire for the public good, with mildneſs, and with reſpect for the laws; and laſtly, had ſhewn, that a fatal want of ſteadineſs had enervated the operations of government; and that perſonal intereſts, or the intereſts of claſſes of men, having too often ſucceſsfully oppoſed authority, this relaxation prepared the overthrow of all authority. No informed man would have conteſted theſe well-known truths, which would have placed in the cleareſt light, the abominable nature of the exiſting Revolution.

But whilſt the real fault was, that the monarch did not hold ſufficiently faſt his lawful

lawful authority, this author would lead us to believe that his error lay in not ſtraining it to abuſe; he takes the violent exceſſes of government for its reſources, and from the depths of his retirement in Germany, he propoſes theſe his maxims as the means of pacifying and diſarming a nation, whoſe efforts balance thoſe of all Europe; and whoſe fanataciſm is hardly ſatisfied by the moſt licentious liberty.

I proteſt, in the name of all true Royaliſts *, againſt a declaration like this, whoſe publication in France would be equivalent to the loſs of two battles; which would make the Revolution immortal, and would oppoſe more difficulties, and create more danger to the allied powers than all the Regicide Clubs.

If

* I have ſpoken in their name more than once, and they have never diſavowed me. Though a Foreigner, and born under a Republican Government, I have acquired, by four years ſpent without any reaſonable certainty at going to bed, that I ſhould awake to liberty or ſo life; at the coſt of three arreſts of my perſon, of one hundred and fifteen denunciations, of the ſeal twice put on my effects and papers, by four *civic* aſſaults on my houſe, and by the confiſcation of all my property in France; by theſe, I ſay, I have acquired, the rights of a Royaliſt, and as nothing remains for me to gain by this title but the *Guillotine*, I fancy that no one will be tempted to diſpute it with me.

If it was neceſſary for the Convention to inflame enthuſiaſm anew, they would in a proclamation give a ſecond edition of the principles of this writer, and copying from him, would ſay to the nation :---

" Expect not any of the advantages which " this King offers you, whoſe martyrdom " and whoſe memory, ſeem to have given a " religious ſanctity to his will and pleaſure. " To royalty now dead and buried, they " are about to add every thing that rendered " it odious to you. Now that you are ma- " ſters and ſovereigns, will you give up " your deſtiny to the moſt *abſolute of mo-* " *narchs?* You have a leaning to the reſto- " ration of monarchy; think well, that it " is *eſſentially a feudal Government.* You " have declared the commons alone to be the " nation; well then, our adverſaries exclude " the commons intirely, and teach you that " the nobility and clergy, are the true and " original repreſentatives of the nation."

" Louis XVI. your King, recognized your " right to impoſe taxes, by your States-Ge- " neral; but you have done much better " than ſettling the right of taxation, for " you pay no taxes at all. To ſmooth the

" way

" way to your ſubmiſſion, they tell you now, " that the ſyſtem of *Louis-le-Grand* ſhall " alone decide as to taxation; and that the " will and pleaſure of *Comptrollers-General*, " ſhall be ſubſtituted for your States-Ge- " neral.

" All your inſtructions in 1789, called for " the ſuppreſſion of *Intendants*; they will " be again beſtowed on you, as the *Maſter-* " *ſpring, to give rapid motion to Govern-* " *ment, and becauſe Monſ. Neckar had* " *calumniated them.* Enlightened and ho- " neſt men, would in vain object, by repre- " ſenting, that in proportion as power is " concentered in the Prince, the greater is " the danger of entruſting it to the exerciſe " of individuals, and to abſolute inſtruments. " That ſubordinate adminiſtrations, bound " by fixed rules, and who govern in the " ſpirit of *routine*, are preferable to Vice- " roys, who have an inſtinctive and inva- " riable diſpoſition to make themſelves " ſtronger than the law, and to ſtrain their " authority, by introducing an arbitrary " power, worſe than deſpotiſm itſelf.

" The *Letters de Cachet* were our com- " mon topic of perſuaſion to make you take

" arms

" arms againſt Royalty, and by your una-
" nimous deſire, they were proſcribed;
" they will be reſtored to you as the *means*
" *of correction.* Acts of arbitrary power will
" again make their appearance, as ſo many
" *favours.* You have deſtroyed the *Baſtille*,
" and they will build many of them for
" you, and on a larger ſcale. Juſtice, love
" for his people, the deſire to do good, ſim-
" plicity of manners, will be forbidden to
" the King, as *falſe principles of popularity.*
" Not one of our new improvements will
" be preſerved, not one abuſe condemned.
" Make now then your election between
" the independence which you have ob-
" tained by conqueſt, and the moſt un-
" meaſured and unlimited ſubjection."

At theſe words, all their diſſentions will vaniſh, the camps will again be filled, rage and deſpair will have their conſummation in freſh maſſacres, the Convention will regain its credit, and the Royaliſts will loſe theirs.

Theſe are the rocks, on which, for four years, they have perſiſted to drive us, by theſe declamations which ſavour of a Turkiſh Divan, and which are the cauſe of all the calumnies by which the Princes, brothers

of Louis XVI. together with their councils, and all the Royaliſts are daily blackened; declamations which their utter and affecting impotence, make as ridiculous as ill-judged, and which every where multiply the partiſans of the Revolution.

Under this laſt conſideration, does the anonymous Writer * really think that the Courts to which he addreſſes his inſtructions with ſuch a tone of authority, will be much obliged to him for his revelations? Does he think that they will greatly applaud him for this difference which he proclaims to exiſt between the intereſts of the Sovereign, and the intereſts of the people? Does he ſeriouſly think it to be altogether prudent to exhibit the allied Sovereigns as conſpiring to eſtabliſh deſpotiſm, at a time, when great occaſions command great ſacrifices, when the general ſtaggering of opinions, have ſet all the innovators,

* The Pamphlet, into the detail of which the Author of this Piece enters ſo much at large, was ſcarcely worth his notice, as it contains the ſentiments of very few, if any, of the Emigrants. At a time like this, the Preſs ſwarms with the works of all ſorts of Speculators; and it is not very ſurprizing (and hardly worth much obſervation) that ſome perſons viewing, with a due horror, the atrocious proceedings which have introduced this Revolution, and attended it in every ſtage of its progreſs, ſhould be inclined to think the worſt abuſes of the old Government, a ſort of comparative benefits.

novators, the profligate and the enthuſiaſts in every country, into fearful agitation.

Has he reflected what impreſſion his doctrines might make in that renowned iſland, whoſe fleets now hide the ſeas, and whoſe legions cover Flanders, where the love of Liberty and Royalty are inſeperable; and whoſe government has not the power (happily it has not the deſire) to arm the people for the re-eſtabliſhment of Baſtilles.

Is it thus he hopes to determine the motions of the free and warlike confederated Cantons, whoſe ſons, alone incorruptible in the midſt of the vileſt corruption, have ſpilled their blood at the foot of a ſubverted throne; and amongſt whom, the perfidious enemies of their peace, have already made the Revolution but too popular?

Alas! it is high time to put an end to this mode of diſgracing a ſacred cauſe, by unceaſingly demanding the ſacrifice of all Liberty. Whilſt Kings and people breathe one common wiſh for the eſtabliſhment of a limited aud lenient Government, let thoſe who diſapprove be ſilent; for though their clamours ſhould be loſt in the clouds, yet will they tend to increaſe the tempeſt by which we are toſſed.

SECTION VI.

A comparative State of France in the laſt Spring, and at this Inſtant. Viciſſitudes in its Anarchy.

IF, after an analyſis, unfortunately too faithful, of *the deſtiny which governs the* Revolution; of its ultimate object and of its reſources; if after this we ſhould add, that at no period of its exiſtence, has it been in ſuch manifeſt danger, this opinion would have the air of a paradox; but it will ceaſe to be ſuch with thoſe, who not ſuffering themſelves to be dazzled by chimerical hopes, nor ſubdued by exaggerated fears, will weigh the reſources of the Convention with thoſe ſhe furniſhes to her enemies.

I ſay the Convention, becauſe it is the very ſoul of the Revolution. It is to no purpoſe to attack the one, whilſt the other has exiſtence. Battles and ſieges; all the ſtuff of gazzettes by which idleneſs is amuſed, are entirely thrown away as long as new fortifications and new armies can be derived from the center. A few ſcratches on the foot,

foot, do not prevent the heart from renewing the circulation of the blood.

Againſt whom is it that confederated Europe has now for ſix months, made a war by attacking the Frontiers? Upon an enemy, againſt whom the half of ſubjugated France calls for avengers; againſt a committee of *Neros* taken from the dregs of the people, who are now become objects of horror to their firſt accomplices, and the cut-throats of all amongſt themſelves, who make an halt in the march of wickedneſs; whoſe boundleſs tyranny furniſhes a proof of the extent and the magnitude of the public diſcontents; with the moſt hardened effrontery breaking through laws made by themſelves; forcing all deſcriptions of intereſts to riſe againſt them, paſſing from maſſacres to formal executions, and returning from executions to maſſacres; impriſoning without attention even to forms; putting to death upon the ſlighteſt ſuſpicion; gagging all mouths with their charter of the Rights of Man; oppreſſing ſpeech, the preſs, and even thought itſelf; violating the domeſtic aſylum; opening letters; carrying terror and conſternation into every family; Atheiſts who have proclaimed that GOD

was

was a *miſcreant* whom Hell itſelf would have trembled at receiving; and, in a word now reigning over none but the victims which they have made, or thoſe whom they reſerve for future ſacrifice.

No ability or talents whatſoever at this time ſupport this Junto. I thas reduced the art of Government to corruption and aſſaſſination. It is by terror that they chain down *a free people*; but, going far beyond the moſt frantic tyrants, they prepare for themſelves the fate of tyrants.

By extending their oppreſſion to all the parties, their own excepted, who had embraced the cauſe of the Revolution, they have made its deſtruction an object of the wiſhes of thoſe who were originally moſt devoted to it. Covered over with horror and contempt, the turpitude of the Convention has enfeebled it, as much as its butcheries. Public opinion ſupported the former aſſemblies, but this is obliged to ſupport opinion. No longer defended by principles, which have been betrayed by its practices, the hypocriſy of the Convention, cannot ſcreen its abominations.

The

The Convention is now in its progreſs from the Republican Revolution, to that laſt anarchic Revolution which I have deſcribed; and ſhe muſt perfect it, or periſh. But to arrive at that *perfection*, in the midſt of a war which preſſes her on every ſide, ſhe is compelled to ſtrain to its height every ſpring, and by daily uſe, their elaſticity is ſlackened.

Compare their reſources, at this day, with thoſe of laſt year, and the compariſon is to their diſadvantage. There is no miſtaking a remarkable change which has taken place in the reſpective belligerent powers. In ſpite of her juggling tricks, her decrees and her prodigality, the Convention has not been able to embody more than three hundred four thouſand men, for her defence both abroad and at home. A fourth part, and more of this force is employed in garriſons. The ſieges and the capture of Condè, of Mayence and Valenciennes, have weakened her force by thirty five thouſand men. She has to combat againſt nearly four hundred thouſand, and ſhe has a civil war in the heart of the kingdom. Her flag has diſappeared; and ſhe has abandoned the ſea, her foreign ſup-

ply

ply of proviſions and her commerce, to the fleets of her enemies.

She has got rid in ſucceſſion of the few general officers, whoſe military talents were her protection. In the ſpace of ſix months twenty three of them have been accuſed, diſgraced and diſmiſſed. Four have died a violent death, two upon the ſcaffold, and twelve have fled their country *. The fate of the French arms is then, at this day entruſted to the mere refuſe of their military.

The gulph of peculation and of the public expenditure, ſwallows up every month a ſum greatly ſuperior to the annual revenue of the moſt opulent monarchy. The depreciation of *Aſſignats* is the thermometer to aſcertain the decline of the Convention. The price of all commodities riſing every day

* This number will certainly be augmented, whilſt this work is at the preſs. If any thing more than another proves the general madneſs, it is this ſucceſſion of ineſficient Commanders, who, from the example of their predeceſſors, are certain, on the firſt ſuſpicion, on the firſt misfortune, to paſs from favour to diſgrace; from the ſword of the enemy, to the dagger of the aſſaſſin; from their camp to the ſcaffold; yet proudly undertake to ſupport the power of their future executioners.

day moſt exorbitantly, government, the principal conſumer, ſuſtains a loſs equal to the expences of a whole Campaign. In a little time the people will be no longer able to procure ſubſiſtence; and to get over this deſperate criſis, the Jacobins will deliver the fruits of the earth, the earnings of induſtry, the purſes and the pocket books, to the pillage of the multitude. Nothing ſhort of a deadly torpor within the kingdom, and in the foreign forces, can ſave the Revolution from being buried in the ruins of ſuch an earthquake.

Already deſpair has gained ſome over, and depreſſion has affected others. Conſternation is every where; rage has changed its object, and fanataciſm whets the poniard of the oppreſſed, as well as that of the oppreſſor.

This formidable revolutionary Confederacy has let in the light upon itſelf; it has ſhewn its very inwards in all their nakedneſs; it was Pandora's box, and Hope has taken its flight out of it. If almoſt every confederacy is faulty by a want of union and and concert; if the uſe of their means is rarely correſpondent to their extent; if unforeſeen diſputes and incidental diſſen-

tions weaken their combination,---what muſt we expect from diſcordant factions, diſputing with one another for exiſtence and empire, in a country turned upſide down, where the ruling party itſelf has no other means of holding the reins of government, but a choice of violences.

Like to Saturn, the Revolution devours its children. The formidable conjunction which bound all its parties together and directed their motions, is now diſſolved. The Convention and its Clubs ſtrenuouſly endeavour to concenter them in their boſom; but, before they can accompliſh this, the revolted cities and departments muſt be reduced; the victorious Royaliſts in the Weſt muſt be ſubdued; ſyſtematic combinations muſt be prevented; the dangerous example of effectual reſiſtance muſt be effaced.

Nevertheleſs, we muſt not diſguiſe it from ourſelves that in theſe interior diviſions the probabilities are ſtill in favour of the Convention; its title alone gives the ſanction of law to its meaſures; ſhe obtains obedience from the habits of obeying; tribunals, aſſignats, the favours, and the ſeductions of unlimited power are all in her diſpoſal.

diſpoſal. Under her orders alſo acts that ſanguinary corporation of Jacobins, whoſe inviſible powers prepare ſecret dangers, put the reſolutions of conſpiracy in execution, raiſe or appeaſe an inſurrection, pierce into the moſt hidden retreats, and are the efficient agents of the revolutionary power *.

* This Corporation is not a being of the fancy. The actors in inſurrections, in conflagrations, in maſſacres, really form a confraternity. Syſtematically organized, they have their catechiſm, their *ſlang*, their colonels, their majors, their captains; their profeſſion and their noviciate; their points of correſpondence, their reſpective taſks, their departments, their cuſtoms, and the laws of their order. Even in foreign countries this infernal ſociety has its *affiliated* Clubs; it has excited all the maſter crimes of the Revolution; and has attempted, in twenty parts of Europe, commotions ſimilar to thoſe which it has raiſed in France. It had its origin in the *Palais-royal*, and has been the right-hand of the leading conſpirators. *Rotondo Fournier*, an American, *Eſtienne*, formerly a captain of the *Sans Cullottes*, at Bruſſels; *L'Huillier*, *Procureur-General* of the department of Paris; *Maillard*, formerly a bum-bailiff; the leading men of the Club of the *Cordeliers*, have been the principal Officers in this Regiment. M. *de la Fayette* knew it and dreaded it; but never had the courage to attack it in earneſt. The laſt enterprize plotted by *Rotondo*, was againſt Geneva, where he has been arreſted ſome months ſince. I could add ſome moſt extraordinary details to theſe few lines; but I confine myſelf to merely aſſuring the Public, that they have as yet, but a very ſuperficial knowledge of the Revolution in its preſent

For want of exact and comparative information, it is difficult to form a positive judgment on the troubles which exist in the interior of the kingdom. But, through all uncertainties, and by the help of what we have already seen, one may perceive that, for want of concert between the commotions within the kingdom, and the operations from without, the force which menaced the Convention, has not as yet essentially affected its authority.

Several of the departments in *Rebellion*, have submitted. The Convention has subdued them by their own *Municipalities*, to which they had dictated intentions adverse to those of their *Directories*; just as when the occasion calls for it, they can raise the *Sections* against the refractory Municipalities. The first attempts of *Wimpfen* in Normandy, ended in his retreat before a *Quack*, *one Seyffert*, who formerly distributed his pills at the *Palais Royal*, and who is now a general in the army. By the small body of troops under the command of this Quack, you

state, and that one cannot too much lament the improvidence of those, who think they sufficiently secure themselves against it, by raising some walls about its territories.

you may form an eſtimate of the weakneſs of the inſurgents of Calvados, and every thing leads us to believe, that, ſome unforeſeen events excepted, the inſurgents will be moſt fortunate, if they can maintain their independence in Lower Normandy.

The coalitions in the South have ſhewn more of vigour, of ſyſtem and of reſources. *Lyons* and *Marſeilles* had the addreſs, to adopt the arms of their adverſaries. To revolutionary tribunals, they oppoſed anti-revolutionary tribunals; clubs of worthy men, to clubs of cut-throats; aſſociations of men of property to thoſe of bare-breeched robbers; manly and vigorous addreſſes to the waſte paper of Paris; active reſiſtance againſt oppreſſion, to inſurrections, and the moſt hateful tyranny; and their proclamation of independence, to the authority of the Convention.

Theſe cities had the wiſdom to make their advances by degrees and with great caution, until their combination was more general and conſolidated. They took care not to erect the ſtandard of Royalty all at once, leſt they might make the Republicans and the *Maratiſts* rally their forces; and

and they choſe reſtoration of order as the road to political re-eſtabliſhment. Already had their plan been attended with ſucceſs. Eighteen thouſand Royaliſts were in arms at Lyons, and Marſeilles had ſent them ſuccours. But the total inactivity of the Sardinian Auſtrian troops, left a free courſe to a part of Kellerman's army. Theſe, uſeleſs in Savoy, the allies not having paſſed the Alps, were directed againſt Lyons; another diviſion of that army cut off the paſſage of the Marſellians, and thus this important diverſion, the conſequence of which might have been the loſs of the whole South of France to the Convention, is on the eve of diſappearing intirely.

It is plainly to be ſeen, that this approaching misfortune, will affect the Royaliſts in *La Vendèe*. The Convention, diſembarraſſed of the other internal revolts, will re-unite all its forces againſt the *Lower Loire*. If the army of the Royaliſts, notwithſtanding its brilliant and long ſuſtained advantages, has not as yet been able for more than a moment, to extend itſelf on the right of that River; if the towns which they took have been evacuated; if they have not got poſſeſſion of a ſingle ſea-port, nor the acceſ-

ſion

ſion of one important city, nor the junction of any of the ſurrounding departments, as the conſequence of their many victories; if the fruit of theſe victories, has been, to this inſtant, no other than their preſerving the conteſted diſtinct;---does it not reſult from all this, that the forces are nearly balanced, that their ſituation is ſtill precarious, and that there can be no decided opinion formed as to the further progreſs of the Royaliſts?

It requires no great foreſight to perceive that this momentary equilibrium will be ſoon deſtroyed, either in favour of the monarchy, if the cities in the South ſhould riſe in reſiſtance to the dangers which threaten them, and act in concert with the *Lower Loire*; or, in favor of the Convention, if the external war does not change its character; and if, having loſt all hope of ſpeedy ſuccour, the inſurgents of the South in Normandy and Brittany, with thoſe which dare not yet ſhew themſelves, are ſubdued by the uſurpers, or forced to capitulate on terms of accomodation.

Value, as you chuſe, theſe reſpective chances, one or other of theſe events muſt happen

happen before winter. Let the *Jacobins* triumph, they will acquire the ſame authority which the *Republicans* poſſeſſed laſt year. Their caprices and villainies will enjoy the ſame aſcendant; the foreign war will ſee its influence decreaſed; a laſt effort of anarchy will confirm the reign of *Sans-Culloti∫m*, and I much doubt whether the loſs of ſix Frontier towns will contribute materially to ſhake it from the Throne.

SECTION

SECTION VII.

Concluſion. Auxiliary Meaſures of the War. Miſconception of the French in the Interior, as to the Motives of the War. The miſtaken Opinions entertained Abroad, of the general diſpoſition of Mens Minds in France.

EXAMINING the hiſtory of all wars which have been cauſed by a great agitation of opinions, we ſee that oppoſed opinions have reſiſted many victories, when the conqueror has neglected to give a proper direction to the public mind. The defeats of the Lutherans, the Huſſites and the Calviniſts, did not deſtroy the Proteſtant religion. A cotemporary writer has ingeniouſly obſerved, that never did a General find recruits for his army amongſt authors; but that very often the authors found recruits amongſt the ſoldiers. All Revolutions preſent us with a mixture of enthuſiaſm, wickedneſs, and weakneſs. In a warfare with them, the neceſſary ſkill conſiſts in undeceiving the enthuſiaſts; ſubjugating the wicked, and effeciently protecting the weak. Accordingly, when a new doctrine has laid hold of the minds of men,

we ſhould by no means think of oppoſing it by force alone; for never were opinions killed by cannon balls. Theſe may ſlaughter the impoſtors, the knaves, the banditti who drag the multitude into miſchievous ways of thinking; but the method of giving them the ſuperiority, or of giving them new life, would be, on one hand, to leave them unpuniſhed; and, on the other, to attempt totally to immolate with them, the opinions which they have perverted, which will ſurvive them, and the immediate repreſſion of which would, by its principle, deſtroy that moral dominion, without which it is now impoſſible to govern mankind.

We muſt leave, then, to gaſconading politicians, the idea, that the kingdom can be ſubdued by force alone. The ſubmiſſion which is poſſible, which ought moſt earneſtly to be prayed for; the ſubmiſſion, which by deſtroying the very foundations of a ferocious anarchy, would prevent new Revolutions, will never reſult from other means, than *force* and *perſuaſion* united.

Without this union, the war will indeed be ſufficient to harraſs the kingdom, but not

not to ſubdue it. It will exhauſt the preſent reſources of the Convention, but it will furniſh it with the means of finding new reſources. If it ſhould tear the country internally to pieces, it muſt end in ſubdiviſions of the Republic, in which the trade, the creditors of France, and the balance of power throughout Europe will find their grave; whilſt the iſolated ſtate of that country, offering it as an eaſy prey to its neighbours, prepares for us half a century of wars, and of taxes.

Every one perceives that force may be made the firſt ſtep to perſuaſion, provided that it keeps mens minds in unremitting alarm, that it acquires dominion over mens hopes, and that by a rapid activity, it leaves no time for fear to ſubſide, or repentance to waver. It is for Cabinets and for Generals then to determine the quality of military operations. It would be impertinent to preſs further a truth, which cannot have eſcaped their penetration.

But, the ignorance of its final object, is the greateſt obſtacle to the dominion of force, as intended to influence opinion. The deſigns, then, of the Allied Powers

being quite myſterious (I ſay it now a ſecond time) their enemies find in their ſilence an inexhauſtible ſource of reſiſtance. It ſerves them as the means of nouriſhing prejudices, of continuing popular deluſion, to found the public wildneſs upon a principle, and ſucceſsfully to ballance the terror of the Allied Armies, with the dread of the conſequences which would flow from their progreſs in the kingdom.

Theſe ſecret proceedings do not impoſe ſolely on the mere people, or on thoſe in arms; they have alſo their influence, and that a very ſtrong influence, on the greater part of the partiſans of a monarchical government, all of whom are attached to the preſervation of the kingdom entire, and of whom the majority are as averſe from an arbitrary, as from a foreign maſter.

Whatever may be the intentions of the Allied Powers in regard to France, no perſon of underſtanding can give credit to the abſurd report, of an indefinite diſmemberment, the execution of which would prolong the war for many years, and in its conſequences beget many new wars. It is an injurious calumny which confounds with

with a ſyſtematic intention of keeping what is got, ſome conqueſts inevitable in the fortune of war, indemnities for enormous expences, which are uſeful more as means of ſecurity, than as objects of aggrandiſement, and which may all be ſettled and limited according to circumſtances, by definitive treaty.

But though thinking men reject theſe exaggerated diſtruſts, they however lay hold of the vulgar mind. The chiefs of the Revolution hold out to the French, the example of Poland, they prophecy for them a ſimilar deſtiny. Theſe forced inferences inſtil fears into the neutral powers of the ſecond order, and they ſhew the Royaliſts in the interior of the kingdom, in the light of faithleſs citizens, fighting againſt the independence of their country.

To this firſt obſtacle to converſions, is added another, and not leſs effectual; and which grows from the ſame cauſe. It is an opinion univerſally entertained in the kingdom, and too many violent diſcourſes have ſtrengthened it, that the powers have leagued together for the eſtabliſhment of deſpotiſm; that, after having effected an unqualified counter-revolution by force of arms, they will maintain

tain it by the gallows, and that they will plunge again into ſlavery, a nation already moſt ſeverely puniſhed by their miſtake, as to the nature of true liberty.

How ſhall the people, the troops, the whole nation get the better of theſe prejudices, as long as they ſhall remain between falſe *friends*, who perpetuate their credulity, and *enemies* who will not condeſcend to undeceive them? And yet we are filled with indignation by the duration of the public miſconduct! and we are quite at a loſs how to account for a reſiſtance, the food for which we ourſelves abundantly furniſh!

Alas! when we aſſume the government of men, we ought to take the trouble of ſtudying the human heart, to give a direction to its inclinations, and to enlighten it in its deciſions.

If I was allowed to look into thoſe councils, in which the fate of Europe is diſcuſſed, I ſhould find, perhaps, that too little confidence was placed in the effect of a public Manifeſto, which might ſhew to the French nation, and to all nations, the reaſons which make the exiſting war, a true and real war for civilized ſociety.

It

It has been too often, and too fooliſhly ſaid, that the preſent was the cauſe of kings. This prattle of the Anti-chamber, has paſſed from the mouths of courtiers, into the mouths of the anarchiſts. It is needleſs to aſk the latter, if ſuch diſcourſe does or does not tend to draw the popular favour to their intereſts, by making them the common intereſts of every people, and by holding them out as in oppoſition to the intereſts of ſovereigns.

I ſay aloud, and boldly, if the buſineſs ſtood thus, the Revolution would be immortal; but it will periſh, for it is an outrageous and wicked attack upon the *people of all countries*, ſtill more than on their governments, it is much more of a conſpiracy againſt the *riguts of nations*, than in favour of the *rights of men*.

Why will not then the Allied Powers prove this important truth, by demonſtrating to people of France that their proſperity, inſeparable from that of Europe, makes the war a matter of neceſſity, and not of choice?

That the indiſputable right of every independent nation, that of reforming its own laws,

laws, a right which no ſtate diſputes with the French, cannot extend to offending againſt the rights of the people in every nation, or give a legal ſanction to rapine and murder.

That no political ſociety can ſuffer cloſe to her, a *Revolutinary* power, which makes laws to day, in order to reverſe them to-morrow; which ſubverts the principle of all agreement amongſt men; which promiſes abroad, what it has executed at home, to deliver all property to its plunderers, and the lives of men to its aſſaſſins.

That no ſtate, no ſovereign, no people has the prerogative, to attack, by its inſtitutions, that order without which civilized ſociety connot exiſt, and which is indiſpenſibly neceſſary to univerſal juſtice.

That all nations are under one general law; that they all have common rights and intereſts, and ties; that they are linked together by their deſire of mutual ſafety and mutual credit; and that all countries guarantee to each other the inviolability of perſon and property.

That

That a fixed and juſt government is the moſt ſacred of all properties; that ſovereign magiſtracies exiſt only to preſerve the ſocial chain, and that he who firſt breaks it, returns into the condition of ſavages.

That the tyrants, who boaſted that they could regenerate the kingdom, have reduced it to this point of degradation, and thereby have excluded France from the law of nations, and all civilized order.

That they have declared war againſt all men of landed property, by drowning the right of poſſeſſion in the blood of the proprietor; by rewarding the crimes of their accomplices, at the expence of honeſt men; by drying up all the ſources not only of riches, but of ſubſiſtence; by ſtriking down at once the colonies and commerce of their country, the ſea-ports and the work-ſhops; induſtry and agriculture, all exchange of produce between France and foreign countries.

That all civil and commercial intercourſe is deſtroyed for them, by the boundleſs fabrication of aſſignats with compulſory currency, that food for fabulous expence, the fraudulent tokens, of an imaginary value, and

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founded upon ſecurities uncertain, conteſted and illegal.

That the inevitable depreciation of this money of opinion; the eaſy fraud which it prepares towards the creditors of France, the total overthrow which it would effect of all fortunes and of all commerce, have imperiouſly dictated its prohibition in every country.

That every nation arrived at this perfection of *diſtemper*, and ſubject to the ſanguinary anarchy by which it is perpetuated, no longer makes a part of the general Society. Exiſting for no other purpoſe but its own ruin and that of all other people, it has made it of indiſpenſible neceſſity, that it ſhould itſelf periſh, or deſtroy every thing elſe.

That it is the duty of the Allied Powers to prevent both one and the other of theſe cataſtrophes; to deliver France from the horrors of its own anarchy, or to ſave Europe from periſhing in the ſhipwreck of France.

The protection of families, of the public tranquility, and of property, is the great end and duty of Government; and this unalterable principle ought to unite them all. They are armed to be the guardians of all ranks and conditions

conditions of life, to preſerve to the people, their altars; to the laws, their empire; to the rights of all men, their ſanctity; and to the public morals, their authority.

That they have united their forces to bring France back to order, to ſubordination and to ſafety; the advantages of which have been raviſhed from them by a licentious faction; and that they will lay down their arms as ſoon as that wretched country, delivered from the tyranny of crimes, ſhall return under a government, from which ſtability and public tranquility may be expected.

Perhaps language of this kind might weigh with that majority, who though deteſting the preſent ſtate of things, are not the leſs alarmed for the future, and regard the War only as an inſtrument for forcing their free will, and therefore make reſiſtance ſtill more from ignorance than anger.

Two miſtakes have ſucceeded each other, and both equally dangerous. The ſame headlong judgment which made all paſs for incorrigible *Revolutioniſts*, who entertained any of the recent opinions, at this day hurries many minds into the falſe notion, that the whole

whole kingdom reſtored to its ſenſes, the furious Republicans excepted, wiſh to return preciſely to that ſtate from which they ſtarted.

But let us not deceive ourſelves. The ſpirit of the Revolution will be its ſucceſſor, as it was its precurſor; it has been purified even in the brains of thoſe whom it oppreſſed. The Jacobins are regarded with horror, and a government is ardently wiſhed for, which might annihilate them. Anarchy diſguſts and terrifies; but in its viciſſitudes, new intereſts have been diſcovered. It is eaſy to ſay that theſe particular intereſts alone giving ſtrength to the Revolution, the moment they are all ſacrificed, the Revolution will be at an end, and the ſtate will be ſaved. By reaſoning ſimilar to this, the factious have prepared their own deſtruction. In what then does the general intereſt conſiſt, if it is not in the harmonious concord of individual intereſts? what oppoſition muſt you not expect, if you found a new order of things, be that order what it may, upon grief and deſpair?

To effect a counter-revolution, which will require ſupport is not the whole of what we have to do. But to effect and to conſolidate

conſolidate it, ſuch a force, as we have not, or perſuaſion which would be inefficacious without that force, or the union of one and of the other is abſolutely neceſſary.

There was, perhaps, in the laſt year, a moment of time, when terror might have deſtroyed the principle of all reſiſtance, and removed all difficulties from the future. But this moment is paſſed. Now, the utter deſolation of the kingdom, has divided the Revolution into four or five diſtinct parties. If all alliance, if every kind of compoſition, if all management with this mercileſs crew who reign over Paris and the monarchy, the bloody dagger always in hand, is become impoſſible, may we not perceive a principle which will ſoon unite theſe parties under one ſtandard, in the neceſſity by which their enemies in the interior of the kingdom are impelled to their deſtruction? We may aſſure ourſelves, beyond all doubt, that all will ſeek peace, ſecurity and liberty under the protecting authority of a monarch, who ſhall be powerful enough to give efficacy to the laws; but is it equally certain that they will inveſt him with a prerogative to infringe the law? Is it to be expected that they intend, or that it is in their power to make

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the Revolution again and in an inſtant, deſcend from the top of that ladder of infamy on which it is now mounted to its loweſt round. Is ſuch a tumble in nature, in the circumſtances of affairs, or in the mode of thinking of the day?

However this may be, it is eaſy to ſee through all this, that if this combination of Kings, ſhould ſucceed in rooting out the Republicans, it will give the law, and that irreſiſtibly; that whatever political arrangements it may propoſe, they will be no other than the award of an arbritration, the terms of a detailed treaty between the crown, and the parties who ſhall have replaced it on the head of the Bourbons.

But we cannot entertain even an hope that ſuch an ending as this, will ſatisfy all mens wiſhes, will arrange all the elaſhing ſyſtems, will conciliate all intereſts, or, in a word, that it will guarantee to the Monarchy a ſtate exempt from factions, and from troubles. Men governed by their paſſions, never ſee more than two poſſible ſituations, the worſt or the beſt. But ſentence has been long ſince pronounced on us, that we ſhould be ſatisfied with paſſing from the extreme of evil, to a condition ſomewhat leſs bad.

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The eſtabliſhment of order for the time to come, muſt be founded on an exact knowledge of the general diſpoſitions. When this is rated too high or too low, we daily purchaſe bleſſings which are given to our hopes, but never delivered to our poſſeſſion. It is much leſs dangerous to foreſee difficulties than to deny them, for, every miſtake as to their exiſtence, will lay falſe foundations for our beſt concerted projects, and will become the cauſe of new misfortunes.

Two deſpotic ſovereigns hover over our wills; neceſſity, and the imperious progreſs of human affairs. Whilſt the vulgar, like ſo many children, meditate on what *ought to be done*, reaſon and experience look to what *can be done*. How abſurd to talk continually *of principles*, in affairs which depend intirely upon circumſtances. Wiſdom, genius and patriotiſm endeavour to turn the circumſtances to account, and to bend them gently to their uſe, inſtead of raſhly flying in their face. Such was the policy of Henry the IV. and of his Miniſter. We need not bluſh to tread in the ſteps of two ſuch Leaders.

If high ſpirited men, who find reflection a puniſhment, and conſider moderation as treaſon.

treaſon, ſhould attribute my opinions to my *ſecret leanings* to the cauſe of Liberty; I tell ſuch men, that born under her empire and formed under her tuition, ſhe taught me one leſſon, which had made a deep impreſſion on me, long before the year 1789; it is this, that *France was incapable of ſupporting political Liberty, without thirty years of preliminary training.*

It will be eaſily believed, I fancy, that the Revolution as not altered my way of thinking; and, as it has diſcovered to us that a corrupt people are a thouſand times worſe than tyrants, I will inſcribe on the dreadful monument raiſed by their wicked and furious exceſſes, a leſſon which has, for fifteen years paſt, given my thoughts their direcion, and which an Engliſh Poet has written for us in two lines:

" For Forms of Government let Fools conteſt;
" Whate'er is beſt adminiſter'd is beſt."

F I N I S.

I have

I have reduced the Military Force in actual Service, which the Convention oppoſes to its Enemies, to three hundred and four thouſand Men. Take the following diſtribution, which I give you from a careful Review; each Article being put down at the higheſt.

	Men.
Army in the North - - -	30,000
Camp of Magdelaine - -	12,000
Camp of Caſſel - -	12,000
Garriſons in different Parts of Flanders	30,000
At Givet and Sedan - - -	18,000
Army on the Moſelle - - -	30,000
Garriſons on the Meuſe and Lorrain -	25,000
Army of Beaucharnais - - -	30,000
Garriſons in Alſace, and Franche Comté	15,000
Camp at Huningue - - -	16,000
Army of the Alps, and of Var -	60,000
Army of Rouſillon - - -	18,000
Army of Bayonne - - -	12,000
Army of Vendèe - -	
Army of Evreux - - -	4,000
	304,000 *

* Thus in the Original, but it is wrong caſt up; it ought to be - - 312,000

The before-mentiond Armies, have the following Forces to fight with, viz.

The combined Army, at Oſtend and on the Sarre, Imperialiſts, Engliſh, Dutch, Hanoverians, Pruſſians, Heſſians, and Troops of the Germanic Circles - - - -	*Men* 155,000
Combined Army on the Rhine, Pruſſians, Imperialiſts, Saxons, and the Troops of the Circles - -	106,000
Army of hither Auſtria - -	16,000
Army of Piedmonteſe and Auſtrians	70,000
Spaniſh Biſcayan Army - -	28,000
Ditto Catalonian - - -	35,000
Royaliſt Army in Patua (unknown)	
	401,000 *

* Thus in the Original, but ought to be 410,000

TABLE

TABLE

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In a few Days will be publiſhed.

THE

HISTORY

OF THE

BRISSOTINS:

OR, PART OF THE

SECRET HISTORY OF THE REVOLUTION;

AND OF

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IN ANSWER TO

BRISSOT's

Famous Addreſs to his Conſtituents.

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CAMILLE DESMOULINS.

Deputy of Paris, in the National Convention.